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Literary Society of Bombay.

THE

LIFE

OF

ROBERT Lord CLIVE,

BARON PLASSEY.

WHEREIN

Are Impartially delineated his Military Talents in the Field; his Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, during the two laſt Wars in the EAST INDIES,

Which made him ARBITER of EMPIRE, and the richeſt Subject in EUROPE.

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WITH

ANECDOTES of his PRIVATE LIFE,

AND THE

PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES of his DEATH.

Alſo a NARRATIVE of all the laſt TRANSACTIONS in INDIA.

VOL. III.

By CHARLES CARACCIOLI, Gent.

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THE

LIFE

OF

LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

ON the part of the nabob he confirmed and ratified the treaty which he had formerly concluded with the company upon his elevation to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the company, their governor and council as his own. Indeed there was a great analogy between Meer Mahomed, (deteſtable maxims of politics,) and the ſervants of the company; the honour and reputation of his maſters and himſelf were equally contaminated.

He confirmed to the company the grant of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, for defraying the expences of their troops. He ratified the privilege granted them by their firmaun of carrying on their trade by means of their own duſtuck free from all dutles, taxes and impoſitions in all parts of the country; the article of ſalt excepted; on which a duty of two and a half per cent was to

be

be levied on the rowana or hoogly market-price. He gave the company half the ſaltpetre which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their gomaſtahs were to ſend to Calcutta. The other half was to be collected by the nabob's fouzdar for the uſe of his officers, and no other perſon was to make purchaſes of this article in that country. The lime made at Silbert for the ſpace of five years, at the joint expences of the contracting parties, ſhall be equally divided betwixt them: he was allowed to maintain twelve thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot in the three provinces; if there ſhould be occaſion for more, the number may be increaſed by conſent of the governor and council proportionably to the emergency: beſides theſe the forces of the Engliſh company were always to attend him, when wanted. He engaged to adviſe the governor and council wherever he ſhould fix his court, either at Murſhadabad or elſewhere; and he was empowered to demand what number of Engliſh forces he might have occaſion for in the management of his affairs. He might have been ſure that they ſhould be allowed him, as often as their own intereſt ſuggeſted them to interfere in his public tranſactions. An Engliſh gentleman was to reſide with him to tranſact all affairs between him and the company; and a perſon was alſo to reſide on the nabob's part at Calcutta, to negociate with the governor and council. It is known that the Engliſh reſident at the durbar was a ſpy on the nabob's actions and his attendants.

The late pervannah's iſſued by Coſſim Ally Khawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, were to be reverſed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

By

By the firmaun, granted by the mogul Furrukſeer to the Engliſh, to ſecure them from the oppreſſions of ſubordinate governments; they traded by their duſtuck duty free. Upon the diſſolution of the Mogul empire, the provincial government of Bengal became alſo independant: where the Engliſh trade growing extremely extenſive, the privileges granted them by the duſtuck became a notorious abuſe, which in effect made them the monopolizers of all trade, even from the natives of the country.

The nabob, Meer Coſſim, very ſenſible that ſuch was the caſe, and finding difficulty to ſettle any plan with the Engliſh, which had not a tendency to oppreſs his own ſubjects, aboliſhed all duties for two years: he was ſoon after depoſed; and as this abolition of duties, ſerved to put the natives on the ſame footing of trade with the Engliſh company and their ſervants, therefore this article of the preſent treaty was made, that Meer Coſſim's pervanah's ſhould be recalled, and that the duties ſhould again be paid by the natives, while the Engliſh were exempted.

The nabob was cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta to paſs in every reſpect equal to the ſiccars of Murſhadabad, without any deduction of Batta; and whoſoever ſhould demand it was to be puniſhed.

He gave thirty lacks of rupees to defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the company from the war, and ſtoppage of their inveſtment, and engaged to reimburſe to all private perſons, the amount of ſuch loſſes proved before the governor and council, as they might have ſuſtained in their

trade

trade in the country. In caſe he ſhould not be able to diſcharge this in ready money, he was to give aſſignments of lands for the amount.

He engaged to conform and to renew the treaty which he had formerly made with the Dutch, if the French came again into the country; he was not to allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, hold lands, zemindaries; but they were to pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times. This treaty was ſigned at Fort William on the 29th of July, 1763, by Meſſrs. Vanſittart, Carnac, Billers, Haſtings, Marriott, and Watts.

The nabob Meer Jaffier, agreed by another treaty to pay the company five hundred thouſand rupees per month, during the war with the nabob Sujah al Dowlah. He was ſo ſenſible of the inſtability of his grandeur, and the fluctuating councils of Calcutta, according to the private views of the chiefs of this ſettlement, made him ſo apprehenſive of ſome new revolution againſt him, that he requeſted them to write in a proper manner to the company; and alſo to the king of England, the particulars of their mutual friendſhip and union, and procure for him writings of encouragement, that his mind may be aſſured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between him and the Engliſh; and that every governor, counſellor and chief of the Engliſh that are here, may be well diſpoſed and attached to him; and ſince all the Engliſh gentlemen aſſured of his friendly diſpoſition to the company had confirmed him in the Nizamut; he requeſted, they would give their credit and aſſent, to what ever he might at any time write; nor regard the ſtories of deſigning men to his prejudice,

that

that all his affairs might go on with ſucceſs, and no occaſion ariſe for jealouſy or ill-will between them.

He begged that no protection be given by any of the Engliſh gentlemen to any of his dependants, who may fly for ſhelter to Calcutta; or other of their diſtricts, but to deliver them up to him on demand. He deſired, that the gomaſtahs of the company may attend to the lawful trade of their factories, and if any of them ſhould act otherwiſe, that they might be checked in ſuch a manner as to be an example to others.

From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of their pergunnahs bordering upon each other, it had happened, that on complaints being made, people went againſt the tenants of his country, which are generally both huſbandmen, and manufacturers, to the prejudice of the buſineſs of the ſircar; wherefore he begged, that ſtrict orders be given that no perſons be ſent from Calcutta on the complaints of any one upon my tenants, but that on ſuch occaſions application be made to him or the Naib of the Tourdary of Hoogly, that the company may be ſubject to no leſſer devaſtations, and if any of the traders who belonged to the office of cuſtoms and have ſettled in Calcutta, ſhould be deſirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their buſineſs there as formerly, that no one ſhould moleſt them. Chandernagore and the French factory had been preſented to him by colonel Clive, and given by him in charge to Ameer Bey Khawn; for this reaſon he hoped that ſtrict orders ſhall be given, that no Engliſh gentleman exerciſe any authority therein,

but that it ſhould remain as formerly under the juriſdiction of his people.

He declared he ſhould expect, whenever he ſhould have occaſion to demand any forces from the governor and council for his aſſiſtance, that they ſhould be immediately ſent to him, and no demand made on him for their expences."

The preſident and council of Calcutta, did agree to all theſe propoſals, and ſet their hands to in Fort William, July 10th 1763.

The nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn, gave a note for payment of five lacks per month, for expences of the company's troops, during the war with Sujah al Dowlah.

The account of the money ſettled for the expences of the Europeans and ſea-poys, the artillery and the raiſing of the cavalry was to be paid, till the removal of the troubles with the vizier, viz:

In the province of Bengal, at Murſhadabad — — —	300,000
In the province of Bahar, at Patna -	200,000
Total rupees	500,000

The nabob included in the aforeſaid ſum, whatever balance might be due from him on account of his former agreement with the company.

In regard to the articles ſigned by the prince Ally Gahar, in the character of emperor, it was impoſſible, circumſtanced as he was, that he ſhould refuſe to accept them; therefore the country of Ghazipore and the reſt of the zemindary of Bulwantſing, belonging to the nizamut of the nabob Sujah

Sujah al Dowlah, aſſigned to the Engliſh company, as well as the regulation and government thereof, given to their diſpoſal, might be conſidered as grants of their own, ſince the prince was at their entire diſpoſal, and was compelled to ſubmit to whatever terms they impoſed upon him; he was even forced to conſent that the revenues of the Rajah Bulwantſing zemindary, ſhould no longer belong to the books of the royal revenue, but ſhould be expunged from them. This is the firſt inſtance of a king of Hindoſtan, giving up the moſt eſſential part of his royal prerogative; as notwithſtanding the troubles of the empire, and the partition of the provinces amongſt the viceroys become independant, that revenues were always ſuppoſed to belong to the books of the royal revenues; of which the king of Dehly was reputed to have the entire management and diſpoſal.

The only inſtance in which the king Shah Allum ſpoke as a ſovereign, was on the concluſion of the imperial firmaun, by which he grants to the company, Glaerpore, Banaras, &c. It becomes the company, ſays he, to ſhew their grateful ſenſe of our royal favours, and to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in the proper management and regulation of the country to encourage and befriend our ſubjects; to puniſh the contentions and expel the rebellious from their territories. They muſt uſe their beſt endeavours to promote the welfare of our people, the huſbandmen, manufacturers and other inhabitants, to prohibit the uſe of things of an intoxtoxicating nature, and ſuch as are forbidden by the law of God; in driving our enemies, and in deciding cauſes, and ſettling matters agreeably to

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the rules of Mahomed and the law of the empire; ſo that the inhabitants may apply themſelves with peace of mind and ſatisfaction to the cultivation of the country, and exerciſe of other their profeſſions, and that the weak may not labour under oppreſſion and violence. They will conſider theſe as our ſtrict injunctions.

It is manifeſt at the ſame time, that Shah Allum himſelf, conſidered his imperial dignity, little more than nominal, as he had no ſufficient authority to inforce the laws without the concurrence of the company; who, in fact, allowed him all the exterior honours of a monarch, whilſt they were in the full poſſeſſion of all the power, and ruled without controul.

To compleat the force, the company's ſervants concluded a treaty, with Najam al Dowlah, on their inveſting him with the nabobſhip of Bengal, on the death of his father Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn; the ſtipulations of the governor and council were to ſecure to the nabob Najam al Dowlah, the nominal ſubahdary of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and to ſupport him therein with the company's forces againſt all his enemies. That is to ſecure to themſelves this ſovereignty, and to maintain their uſurpation, againſt all their enemies, they engaged to keep a ſtanding army; the young prince could not be an object of envy, but rather of compaſſion, as he was abſolutely paſſive in all the public tranſactions of his pretended nizamut, they knew the neceſſity of keeping up at all times, ſuch forces as might be neceſſary, effectually, to protect theſe provinces from hoſtile inſults. Their policy was to deprive him of all means of defence,

and

and not even to allow him a proper guard to ſupport his dignity, and ſuch a number of troops as were requiſite for the ſupport of the civil officers of his government, and the buſineſs of his collections through the different diſtricts.

They farther promiſed, that in conſideration, the [illegible] ſhould continue to aſſiſt in defraying the extraordinary expences of the war, that was carried on againſt Sujah al Dowlah, with five lacks of rupees per month, which was agreed to by his father, that whatever ſums might be hereafter received of the king, on account of their aſſiſtance afforded in the war, ſhould be repaid by the nabob.

The nabob on his part, in conſideration of the ignominious ſubjection, in which he was kept by the governor and council, which they called aſſiſtance and protection; and for ſecuring to him the ſucceſſion in the ſubahdary of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa held by his father, and ſupporting him againſt all his enemies (though he had none but thoſe of the company) agreed and engaged to perform and ratify the treaty which his father had formerly concluded with the company.

The ſecond article was dictated to this young and unexperienced prince, by his imperious maſters, to ſerve their ambitious views. The nabob was directed to declare, that conſidering the weighty charge of government, and how eſſential it was for himſelf, for the welfare of the country and for the company's buſineſs, that he ſhould have a perſon who had experience therein to adviſe and aſſiſt him; he did agree to have one fixed with him, with the advice of the governor and council, in the ſtation of Naib Subah, who ſhould have accordingly immediate-

mediately under him the chief management of all affairs; and as Mahommed Reza Khawn the Naib of Decca, had in every reſpect his approbation, and that of the governor and council, he did further agree, that this truſt ſhould be conferred on him, and that he would not diſplace him without the approbation of theſe gentlemen; and in caſe any alteration in this appointment ſhould hereafter appear adviſeable, that Mahommed Reza Khawn, provided he had acquitted himſelf with fidelity in his adminiſtration, ſhould in ſuch caſe be reinſtated in the Naibſhip of Decca, with the ſame authority as heretofore.

This article needs no commentary, it is manifeſt that the young prince was not allowed the choice of his officers and ſervants, they were to be appointed or removed according to the will of the governor and council, and the nabob was paſſive in all the public and domeſtic tranſactions of the ſtate and his houſhold, which were conducted by the ſupreme at Calcutta.

In the third article it was ſtipulated, that the buſineſs of the collections of the revenues, ſhould under the Naib Subah, be divided into two or more branches, as might appear proper; and as the nabob was made to ſay, that he had the fulleſt dependence and confidence on the attachment of the Engliſh, and their regard to his intereſt and dignity, of which he was deſirous to give them every teſtimony: he further conſented, that the appointment and diſmiſſion of the Mutſeddees of theſe branches, and the allotment of their ſeveral diſtricts, ſhould be with the approbation of the governor and council: and conſidering how much men

men of his rank and ſtation were obliged to truſt to the eyes and recommendation of the ſervants about them; and how liable to be deceived; he further declared, it was his will that the governor and council ſhould be at liberty to object and point out to him when improper people were intruſted, or where the officers and ſubjects were oppreſſed, and that he would pay a proper regard to ſuch repreſentations, that his affairs might be conducted with honour; his people every where be happy, and their grievances be redreſſed.

As the company's ſervants promiſed themſelves to derive great advantages from the collections of the revenues, they had contrived to have them divided in ſeveral branches, that they might be employed in this practicable buſineſs. Indeed, as the young nabob was at their mercy, he was obliged to acquieſce to their injunctions in regard to his very mutſeddees, which lucrative offices the Engliſh themſelves intended to fill. Indeed, he was too much obliged to ſhew an implicit faith for the company, which muſt have had the meaneſt opinion of his underſtanding, if they thought he did not perceive their groſs deceit and impoſition. The governor and council was at liberty to approve or reject the choice he had made, even of his menial ſervants, and an attachment to their maſter was imputed a crime and puniſhed as ſuch. They wiſhed to be the very inſtruments of oppreſſion, as the nabob durſt not call them to account; and the people were ſure never to have their grievances redreſſed, whilſt their tyrants were their judges.

He confirmed to the company as a fixed reſource for defraying the ordinary expences of their troops,

Burdwan,

Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong as ceded by his father; and agreed to pay the ſum of five lacks of rupees for their maintenance out of his treaſury; whilſt the exigency of the company's affairs for keeping up ſo large an army continued. When the company's occaſions would admit a diminution of the expences they were put to, on account of theſe troops, he hoped the governor would then relieve him from ſuch a proportion of this aſſignment, as the increaſed expences incurred by keeping up the whole force neceſſary for the defence of the provinces would admit of; and as he was perſuaded to eſteem the company's troops as his own; he maintains only ſuch as were immediately neceſſary for the dignity of his perſon and government, and the buſineſs of his collections through the provinces.

He ratified beſides, and confirmed all the treaties of his father. Having engaged, if he ſhould occaſionally remove to other places in the provinces, to have always the books of the ſircar kept and the buſineſs conducted at Murſhadabad, the ſeat of his government, under the inſpection of the Engliſh. He conſented, wherever he was, that an Engliſh gentleman ſhould reſide with him, to tranſact all affairs between him and the company; and that a perſon of high rank ſhould alſo reſide on his part at Calcutta, to negociate with the governor and council. The company inſiſted that there ſhould be no Europeans whatever entertained in his ſervice; and if there were any, they ſhould be immediately diſmiſſed.

The interference of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's in all the wars and conteſts of the country

try powers, and the aſſiſtance they occaſionally give to their temporary allies, to ſubdue princes, who live in friendſhip and alliance with other European ſtates, and have with them a commercial intercourſe, has given great offence to our rivals in trade ſettled in the Carnatic.

The little kingdom of Tanjore lying to the Eaſt of Maduſa, has lately been transferred to one of the company's vaſſals, who is to lend his name to all the public tranſactions, whilſt the Engliſh ſhall ſway over his dominions as they do in the Bengal provinces; and whenever he ſhall prove refractory to forward their oppreſſive meaſures, he will be, no doubt depoſed, and perhaps loſe his life with his acquiſitions. The ſoil of Tanjore is fertile, and its princes were rich and hoſpitable to all trading nations. Within it lies the Dutch fortreſs of Negapatam, and the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar. In 1612, Chriſtiarn IV. king of Denmark eſtabliſhed an Eaſt-India company at Copenhagen, and ſoon after four ſhips ſailed from thence to the Eaſt-Indies. The hint of this trade was given to his Daniſh majeſty by James I. of England, who married a princeſs of Denmark; and in 1617 they built and fortified a caſtle and town at Tranquebar, on the coaſt of Coromandel. The ſecurity which many of the Indians found under the cannon of this fort, invited numbers of them to ſettle here; ſo that the Daniſh Eaſt-India company were ſoon rich enough to pay to their king a yearly tribute of ten thouſand rix-dollars. The company however willing to become rich all of a ſudden, in 1620 endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſpice trade at Ceylon; but were defeated by the Portu-

gueze: the truth is, they ſoon embroiled themſelves with the native Indians on all hands; and had it not been for the generous aſſiſtance given them by Mr. Pitt, governor of Fort St. George, their ſettlement at Tranquebar muſt have been taken by the rajah of Tanjore. Upon the cloſe of the wars of Europe, after the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, the Daniſh Eaſt India company found themſelves ſo much in debt, that they publiſhed propoſals for a new ſubſcription, for enlarging their ancient capital ſtock, and for fitting out ſhips to Tranquebar, Bengal and China. Two years after his Daniſh majeſty granted a new charter to his Eaſt India company, with vaſt privileges, and for ſome time it's commerce was carried on with great vigour. The Danes over-awed by the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh on that coaſt have acted with ſuch prudence and moderation, as not to give the leaſt umbrage to the new commercial ſovereigns of the Eaſt; but when they ſaw the ruin of the prince who afforded them protection effected, they looked upon their eſtabliſhment at Tranquebar as a precarious poſſeſſion, which perhaps they will not think worth their while to preſerve, with all the clauſes and reſtrictions the Engliſh company will lay on their commerce. The reduction of Tanjore, like all other conqueſts of the Engliſh company, in the peninſula of Indus, has been ſuggeſted by the reſtleſs ambition and avarice of ſome of their military ſervants, who know that war is for them a profitable trade; and never want pretences to carry on their hoſtile deſigns againſt the neighbouring ſtates, when ſtimulated by the proſpect of wealth and plunder. The expedition againſt the kingdom

of

of Tanjore had been planned in the beginning of year 1774, and the nabob Mahommed Ally Khawn, a man qualified in every reſpect to ſecond the ambitious views of his allies, marched the beginning of July with an Engliſh army to Tanjore, and laid ſiege to this capital. It was defended for two months with great ſpirit and reſolution, till at laſt the garriſon exhauſted by fatigue and ſickneſs, ſtill determined to baffle the attempts of their enemies; ran the riſk of an aſſault, in which the place was carried, the king taken priſoner, and that kingdom, one of the moſt ancient of the coaſt of Coromandel, was extinguiſhed. All the horrors and calamities that defenceleſs inhabitants can ſuffer from a licentious ſoldiery, concluded a dreadful ſcene of carnage, plunder and deſolation. The infatuated Indians looked upon this place as invincible, it being the center of their idolatry.

The Daniſh miſſionaries who have been remarkably zealous in propagating the goſpel in Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces, had civilized ſeveral tribes of Indians, in introducing amongſt them morality and the chriſtian virtues.

Some attribute to lord Clive, a plan preſented to Mr. Pitt, for eſtabliſhing in India a powerful empire: from the mouth of the Ganges to the Gulph of Cambaya. Had this project which was really practicable, though not perhaps conſiſtent with good policy and diametrically oppoſite to all notions of equity, been adopted by government; lord Clive in gratifying his own pride and ambition, with the hopes in that caſe, of being appointed a viceroy of all the rich peninſula of Indus, did not conſider all the obſtacles and difficulties, which

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the Engliſh nation ſhould have met in the execution of this ſtupendous enterprize, which had no doubt inſpired all the powers of Europe with jealouſy and indignation, on ſuch alarming aggrandizement, and engaged them to unite againſt us. According to his lordſhip's aſpiring views, the Eaſt India company ſhould have been either annihilated, or reduced to its original ſubjection and inſignificancy. All the commerce of India, courted by all trading nations in the world, with the higheſt materials of luxury, would have centered in England.

The French, Dutch, Daniſh and Portugueſe ſettlements on both the Coromandel and Malabar coaſts, taken from theſe maritime ſtates, with permiſſion only to have conſuls reſident at certain fixed places, for a commercial intercourſe. His lordſhip engaged to pay in ten years the national debt, with the Gani and Raalconda, diamond mines added to the treaſures of Indoſtan. The ſeat of empire ſhould have been at Galconda, and the peninſula within the Ganges, divided into eight provinces, with governors, ſubordinate to the viceroy and accountable to him for their conduct and adminiſtration. He required only a few officers of tried abilities, and a certain number of ſerjeants trained up to military diſcipline, incorporated with ſea-poys, of which an army of thirty thouſand men was to be kept in conſtant pay, without Britiſh troops. Both coaſts were to be guarded by a chain of forts, from Calcutta round Cape Commeran, to Surat, the iſland of Cylon, thought to be by nature, the richeſt and fineſt in the world; was to be conquered in part, from the Dutch and the natives; as it produces the moſt precious articles

cles of commerce; ſuch as long pepper, fine cotton, ivory, ſilk, ebony, muſk, cryſtal, ſalt-petre, ſulpher, lead, ſteel, beſides excellent cinnamon, gold and ſilver, and all kinds of precious ſtones, except diamonds. All the nabobs and rajahs were to be reduced to the condition of lords with alloted domains, but diveſted of all ſovereign authority. The valuable fiſhery of Madura, was recommended to the protection and encouragement of the government. The mines were to be under the inſpection of a Britiſh officer, and all diamonds above a certain weight, were to belong to the crown; as a proof of the practicability and permanency of ſuch a ſcheme, his lordſhip mentioned the great influence we had already acquired in India; that the Gentoos were entirely paſſive in all the revolutions of their government. That the Mahometans ignorant and treacherous as they were, did not appear to have a violent attachment to any religious principle, and were abject enough to live under any form of government, that we ſhould be pleaſed to preſcribe; nor were they in any condition to diſpute an authority ſupported in the name of the Britiſh empire. That their different principles manifeſted the impoſſibility of effecting a union of their forces, eſpecially under a mild government, that could not drive them into deſperate meaſures. Had the war continued, it is not improbable that a great man at the head of affairs, might have adopted part of this plan, to ſupply the exigences of government at ſuch a juncture; however, this was never diſcuſſed in the king's council, nor propoſed to the legiſlature; and like many other wild and extravagant projects indi-

indicate more ambition and avarice than wiſdom and equity.

As lord Clive is eſſentially concerned in the narrative of the conduct of Sir Robert Fletcher in the Eaſt Indies, which will throw a light on his lordſhip's tranſactions; we ſhall here ſubmit to the judgment of our readers, what Mr. Strachey, ſecretary to lord Clive, has publiſhed concerning the mutiny of the officers of the army in Bengal, as worthy of obſervation. It was in conſequence of the mutinous conduct with which Sir Robert was charged, that he was diſmiſſed the ſervice. Mr. Strachey's narrative came to the knowledge of Sir Robert Fletcher, ſome time before his laſt appointment in the Eaſt India company's ſervice; he demanded of lord Clive a copy of it; and Mr. Strachey refuſing it, agreed to Sir Robert's peruſal of it. As Mr. Strachey confeſſed that this narrative was haſtily penned in his voyage from Bengal, in 1767; where he was acting as ſecretary to lord Clive, who was at that time on board the ſame ſhip; it is to be ſuppoſed it was written under the inſpection of that nobleman, as the whole ſubject in queſtion, lies between lord Clive and Sir Robert Fletcher; conſequently Mr. Strachey cannot be looked upon in another light, than a tranſcriber, who had left at the diſcretion of his maſter, his name and reputation, to obtain that credit, which neither of them could ſingly procure.

In conſequence of this ſtate of things, his lordſhip is in juſtice to be conſidered as the real author; and Mr. Strachey as an editor, ſubſcribed his name to it, out of regard for his maſter. Had

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lord Clive been called upon by the committee of ſecrecy, to juſtify his conduct in the cauſe of the mutiny, no juſt exception could have been taken to Mr. Strachey becoming an evidence of the truth: but no ſuch ſubject of enquiry was neceſſarily to be brought before that committee: it related to the double batta, with which ſubject an account of the mutiny at leaſt, of Sir Robert Fletcher's being diſmiſſed from the ſervice on this occaſion, formed no part. Lord Clive had reduced the batta, and Mr. Strachey wanted his lordſhip's evidence, in regard to the circumſtance of doubling and reducing that payment. Sir Robert was tried for mutiny, and diſmiſſed the ſervice in 1766. He was reſtored to the company's ſervice as ſecond in command of the troops at Madras. All remembrance and effect of the combination of the officers was ſunk in oblivion, in regard to Sir Robert; but no time can efface the impreſſions of vindictive reſolves, levelled at the heaven-born general. Lord Clive, conſcious that Sir Robert could contradict every material circumſtance which reflected diſhonour on his conduct, recurred to his uſual arts. Sir Robert was then employed in effacing the injuſtice of that ignominy, which his lordſhip and the court-martial had endeavoured to fix upon him. The previous malignity of lord Clive deſtroyed the very deſigns of his malevolence, as the Eaſt-India company perceived his lordſhip's motives, which induced them to reſtore them to their favour. It is manifeſt that the characteriſtic of lord Clive, was pride and envy; next to his lordſhip's rapaciouſneſs, contempt of the rights of injured

jured princes, and abſolute inſenſibility to the calamities of human kind.

On the ſubject of mutiny and diſmiſſion of Sir Robert Fletcher; on the tranſaction that paſſed in the Eaſt India houſe, March 3d, 1768; the opinions of the generals, Lawrence and Caillaud, called for by the general court, differed ſo widely from thoſe of the majority of the court martial, which were confirmed by the governor and council of which lord Clive and general Carnac were two, that the court of directors, deſired the general court to delay coming to any reſolution thereon, till they had had time fully to conſider how far the company's intereſt might be affected by any reſolution repugnant to the ſentence of a court martial of officers, and confirmed by the governor and council. It was then reſolved, that the conſideration of the ſaid motion, as to Sir Robert Fletcher, be poſtponed until the next general court. At a general court, April 8th, 1768; the directors obſerved, that the court was appointed to conſider of the following motion, made at the laſt court, viz:

"That it is the opinion of the court, that Sir Robert Fletcher do now receive the public thanks of the company, for his judicious and prudent conduct, and that he be immediately reſtored to that rank, in our ſervice, which he would have held, ſuppoſing him not to have been diſmiſſed."

I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the conduct of the directors in this, as in many other occaſions is ridiculous and contradictory, as they ſhould never diſmiſs from their ſervice, an officer of high rank, without proofs of his neglect or want of capacity; and being reſtored afterwards to their favour, is

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an inſtance of their verſability; which quality may be commendable in a man of the world, but not in a commercial company.

This motion had been made by Mr. Cornwall, at the preceding general court. On the making of the motion Sir Robert Fletcher himſelf, thought proper to move, that the preceding motion be amended as follows, viz: "That it is the opinion of the court, that Sir Robert Fletcher be immediately reſtored to that rank in the company's ſervice, which he would have held ſuppoſing him not to have been diſmiſſed."

By this amendment, Sir Robert modeſtly declined the thanks for his ſervices, and deſired to be reſtored only to his former rank; in which ſtation, he behaved with the ſkill and courage becoming the command he held. Had the firſt motion paſſed in the affirmative; the character of his lordſhip, both as a general and a man of honour, muſt have been greatly impaired, if not totally demoliſhed, and with regard to ſome of the gentlemen in Bengal, his lordſhip was, at the time of Sir Robert's trial, inveſted with ſuch abſolute powers, and diſtributed his rewards and puniſhments, with ſo liberal a hand to all men, accordingly as they obeyed or rejected his dictates. Neither were the members of the court martial, proper perſons, as the mutiny act directs. Some of them had been engaged in perſonal diſputes with Sir Robert and others; his lordſhip's particular friends were largely benefited, both in rank and emolument, by Sir Robert's removal from the ſervice. It cannot be a ſubject of ſurprize, that it was neither recommended by the court martial,

nor reſtored by the governor and council. In Leadenhall-Street, indeed, they were not ſo complaiſant, and therefore betwixt the day on which the preceding motion was firſt made, and this of the ſecond, his lordſhip, his emiſſaries and agents exerted every effort, that malevolence could prompt, or power and intereſt obtain and carry into execution. During the debates, the directors acquainted the court, that having taken into their moſt ſerious conſideration the motion on the 31ſt of laſt month, and then poſtponed an opinion thereon, which they deſired to offer to the court, viz: "That the court of directors on the 7th of April, having taken into conſideration the reports of the generals, Lawrence and Caillaud, on the court martial, held upon Sir Robert Fletcher, with the motion made thereupon; and referred for the conſideration of the court this day; they think it their duty to repreſent to the general court, that if ſuch motion would now take place, it would, in their opinions, be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the company's affairs. As a reſtoration of rank and thanks to Sir Robert Fletcher, would be ſuch a reflection upon the officers who compoſed the court-martial, and upon the governor and council who approved it, as will tend to the relaxation of military diſcipline; if not the ruin of ſervice.

A determination being thus evaded on the amendment, in which the article of thanks was omitted, and the motion fixed from that part which would have thrown the ſtrongeſt reflections on the court-martial and the council, had it paſſed in the general court of the company. The main queſtion

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was defeated in the manner it had been previouſly planned by his lordſhip and his adherents; if Sir Robert deſerved to be thanked and reſtored; the court-martial and council, lord Clive, and Carnac, were juſtly reflected on. Mr. Dunning in the court of King's Bench declared, "That Sir Robert had preſerved the company from utter deſtruction." The injuſtice of his lordſhip in his final determination is manifeſt. In order to coincide with the oſtenſible reaſons delivered by the directors, and which had been deviſed to cover the inveterate purſuit of lord Clive; Sir Robert was not to receive the rewards of his merit, nor the council be obliquely condemned for their confirmation of the ſentence.

After a debate, the previous queſtion being put, whether the queſtion on the amended motion ſhould be put; it paſſed in the negative. This deciſion Mr. Strachey did repreſent as a defeat of Sir Robert Fletcher; and a kind of confirmation of the rectitude of his ſentence: but in fact, the directors reaſons for not thanking and reſtoring him to the ſervice, were not founded on any demerit in him, but on the prevention of bad conſequences for the future. The futility and chicane pronounced by Sir George Colebrook reſpecting the queſtions of the generals Lawrence and Caiuland; the indefatigable application of lord Clive and his friends, as well as that of the court of directors; and the extenſiveneſs of their influence, will certainly determine that againſt ſuch a combination; ſo conſiderable a number as eighty-ſix, in favour of Sir Robert, at a time; when his particular friends were abſent was a real triumph: and as it conſiſted

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ſolely of the independent proprietors who were preſent, was equal to and more honourable than a majority conſiſting of party men and votes made with lord Clive's money: and of theſe eighty-ſix, two were the preſent governor's-general of India, and the chief ſupervifor who was loſt in the Aurora.

Sir Robert in the judgment of all impartial perſons, being thus cleared from every juſt cauſe of accuſation reſpecting the mutiny in Bengal, was ſoon reſtored to the ſervice, and appointed ſecond in command at Madras: and as this was done by the unanimous reſolution of that very court of directors, which had availed the preceding motions from taking effects, which had obeyed the inclinations and been ſubſervient to the views of lord Clive: the character of his lordſhip, by a juſt implication, was more flagrantly expoſed to cenſure, reſpecting the removal of Sir Robert from India than before. The re-inſtating of the latter was in fact a ſenſible humiliation of the former; and a tacit confeſſion by the court of directors that his lordſhip had dealt unjuſtly by him. To have publiſhed the narrative when Sir Robert was reſtored and ſailed from India, would have expreſſed the abject intention of attacking the character of a perſon who was not preſent to defend himſelf. It would have pronounced the forenefs of his lordſhip's ſoul, at ſeeing juſtice and truth prevail over jealouſy and reſentment: in fact, it would have done that in which the half cunning are frequently miſtaken. It would have compleated by the means of publiſhing the narrative at that time, the perfect demolition of that temple of fame which had been deluſively erected by thoſe who were either ignorant

rant of his lordſhip's real tranſactions, had flagitiouſly aſſiſted in his Herculean labours, and ſhared in the honourable productions of them, as well as of others, whom he had purchaſed and had fed to be at once the architects of that viſionary fabric, and the heralds of his atchievements. It is not the character of lord Clive to execute his intentions by halves. He is a ſnake that does not previouſly ſhake his rattles to warn the unwary traveller, whom he intends to kill by his ſting: but the worm of vengeance that never dies in his boſom, was not the more inert, becauſe his lordſhip was ſilent and had never been ill treated by Sir Robert Fletcher. His defence muſt not be conſidered as ſpringing from a deſire of reciprocal vengeance; but from a laudable propenſity of exculpating himſelf from the attack on his character, which his lordſhip formerly deviſed, and has now thought proper to revive, and bring not only before the tribunal of parliament, but that of the whole people of Great-Britain.

The houſe of commons having reſolved to inquire into the nature, ſtate, and condition of the Eaſt-India company; the battle, or rather the eſcape near Calcutta; the leaguing with Meer Jaffier, a ſubject, to dethrone his ſovereign; the breach of that oath and treaty, which he made to Serajah Dowlah; the affixing of the reſpectable name of a Britiſh admiral, without his conſent to a fictitious treaty; the deception of Omichund a joint conſpirator; the depoſing and murdering of Serajah Dowlah, together with almoſt an infernitude of other criminal tranſactions, were dragged from the dungeon of iniquity, and expoſed to view, by the publi-

publication of the miniſtry and reports of the ſelect committee. Theſe enormities pierced the boſoms of every human being with inexpreſſible compaſſion for the injured, and with abhorrence for thoſe who had perpetrated ſuch unexampled cruelty and horrible injuſtice. Among theſe lord Clive did not eſcape the general execration: the public had lawfully entered upon the territory of his whole character, which had been ſo long incumbered by a heavy mortgage of iniquitous tranſactions.

A committee of ſecrecy being appointed by parliament, to a like purpoſe with the ſelect, his lordſhip conceived the deluſive idea of compenſating in ſome degree, by means of the former, for that loſs of reputation which he had ſuffered by the latter: for I am credibly informed, that the ſelect commitee, not without ſome reſentment of the attempt, refuſed to admit his narrative of Mr. Strachey, to be brought before them in evidence. He ſaid, by way of apology, that when the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, were inveſtigating the military affairs of Bengal, one of the members who had heard of the narrative, deſired to read it; he ſent it to him; it was the very book Sir Robert Fletcher had read. The honourable member ſoon after aſked him if he had any objection to the giving it in evidence to the committee; he told them he had none. The narrative of the Heaven-born general's ſecretary, concerns not only his evidence, but reaſonings on the particulars, apologies, and juſtifications of his lordſhip; cenſures on Sir Robert Fletcher; together with

with the copies of letters, unauthenticated; and a variety of other vague misrepresentations. In fact, that publication has hardly the most distant appearance of a witness delivering the truth, which alone ought to be admitted on such occasions. But if an advocate, hired to combine the testimonies and depositions of other men, adding arguments, specious and delusive, of his own, in order to impose on the public, and to make the feeble cause of his client as plausible and imposing as he can, does it not, therefore, seem probable, that something more than is expressed, passed in secret between the two members of the secret and select committee: for as he is his lordship's secretary, might he not possibly have condescended to become his broker on this important occasion? This suggestion arising from the preceding circumstances, is more easily conceived and credited, than demonstratively to be proved. It may, indeed, be unjust, respecting the servant, if it can be evinced to have been accomplished by the master. This design of placing, in the scale of the secret committee, something in his lordship's favour, which may counterpoise, although in a very scanty degree, that which had so disadvantageously fallen into the scale of the select committee, was not the sole inducement, which prevailed at present to the giving of this narrative in evidence. His lordship's unrelenting malevolence against Sir Robert Fletcher, fondly conceived it had now a favourable opportunity of indulging itself, and offering an ostensible reason to the inconsiderate, for its being published in the reports. Had it rested at that point, some palliative might

might have been offered in extenuation of this illiberal proceeding. Some aſſertion, which although no ſenſible man would have credited, was ſuch as could not have been refuted. It might have been averred, that it was called for in evidence, and could not be refuſed. And who could have diſproved this averment? unleſs the ſecretary of Lord Clive had been indiſcreetly pleaſed to tell the ſelf-condemning tale of its being aſked for, and had publiſhed his narrative ſeparately. But as things are now exhibited, the publication of the narrative, at once pronounces the vindictive ſpirit of his lordſhip againſt Sir Robert Fletcher. His diſtreſs on his loſs of character, and the ſubſerviency of his ſecretary, can a doubt then be entertained that the ſufferings which have ſprung from the diſcovery of his milirary, political, and treaty-making conduct in the territories of Indoſtan, have diſpatched him in ſearch of menial eaſe to the avocation of new ſcenes in Italy? But is it not impracticable to ſooth a boſom, tortured with that anguiſh which he feels, from that honeſt indignation that is expreſſed againſt him in every frowning forehead of his countrymen? But is there not an inſeparable companion which has taken an abſolute poſſeſſion of his ſoul? Will ſhe not accompany him in all his journies, dwell with him in every houſe, and conſtantly recall to his terrified remembrance, every torturing idea, from which he would give his millions to be relieved? But all is in vain. The benignant creator of man has primordially ordained, that the conſciouſneſs of guilt ſhall eternally haunt the reſtleſs ſoul of him who has perpe-

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trated egregious crimes. Alas! his lordſhip cannot flee from himſelf.

It muſt now appear, that both the giving of his narrative in evidence by the ſecretary, and the giving of it to the world in a ſeparate publication, can be nothing leſs than an ebullition of an inſatiate and vindictive ſpirit; and the following circumſtance will, I doubt not evince it to be, in like manner both illiberal and inſidious.

"Sir Robert Fletcher was in India, and in all probability there to remain for ſome conſiderable length of time; as his lordſhip and his ſecretary believed. It was impoſſible for him at that diſtance to defend himſelf. The committee being alſo ſecret, there were no means of oppoſing that improper evidence. It was about the ſame time well known, that Sir Robert, and other members of the government at Madras, had diſagreed with the preſident and ſeveral of the council; and were there no other proof exiſting, this preſent attack on his reputation, for a tranſaction almoſt forgotten, and rendered incredible by his being reinſtated in the company's ſervice, would ſtand forth as an unanſwerable evidence of its illiberality and inſidiouſneſs. But it ſtopped not there: the publication of this narrative, ſeperately, included a double treachery: the idea of his being mutinouſly inclined was new revived, in order to create a collateral teſtimony of his having been of the like diſpoſition at Madras; and the late diſagreement at that place was reciprocally to aſſiſt in giving credit to the ſecretary's candid production. With this honeſt intent therefore to ſerve both theſe laudable purpoſes, the affair of the mutiny has been

publiſhed, without dating the time of that tranſaction, and the public was left to apply it to both or either, as they pleaſed. But ſuch has been the iſſue of their criminal intentions: Sir Robert is unexpectedly returned, to the no ſmall confuſion of the noble lord and his honourable ſecretary; and their embarraſſment I truſt, will not be in any wiſe diminiſhed, by what ſhall be irrefragably proved afterwards. As his lordſhip has been pleaſed to approve, if not to command the evidence of his ſecretary to be publiſhed in the manner already related, with the double view of preſerving ſome ſlender fragment of his mouldering reputation, and to depreciate the character of Sir Robert Fletcher. There is no occaſion to make either ſcruple or apology for examining the evidence which my lord has himſelf been induced to depoſe before the ſelect committee. And ſurely, this muſt be acknowledged by his lordſhip and his aſſociates, (for real friends it is impoſſible that ſuch a man can poſſeſs) to be doing him a favour: ſince according to his own depoſition, his ſervices have been ſo honourable to his country, has maſters and himſelf; and his actions guided by conſcience in various inſtances of ſelf-denial. By this, his own evidence, he ſhall be tried: and although he boaſts of his honourable ſervices, defends his conduct, and preſumes to call himſelf, not only a guiltleſs, but a meritorious ſubject of the king, and ſervant of the company; had he been arraigned in any court of England, he would have been found guilty on his own confeſſion."

The analyſis of the hearts and heads of mankind is not to be accompliſhed but by repeated operations carried

carried on in a ſeries of experimental inquiries, repleté with important circumſtances of their conduct. Theſe will exhibit the infallible means of diſcovering the true and prevailing qualities of which the human race is compoſed. From this perſeverance in remarking on the conduct of individuals, there will reſult ſufficient reaſons, on which to determine the motives from whence their conduct has proceeded in all their momentous tranſactions: for men can but rarely belye their ruling paſſions and propoſitions on important occaſions, ſo long and ſo effectually as to conceal the knowledge of them from the reſearch and penetration of the inquiſitive and diſcerning. I ſhall therefore attempt to delineate with preciſion, impartiality, and candour, the characteriſtics of the Heaven-born general, from the time of his firſt commanding the land forces of the East-India company at Bengal, when Calcutta was re-taken, to that of his return to England; and in effecting this deſign, I ſhall take the liberty of examining, elucidating, and ſeparately publiſhing thoſe parts of his lordſhip's evidence which are requiſite for that purpoſe, as they ſtand in the reports of the ſelect committee. From this examination, it will be ſeen of what admirable ſtuff his lordſhip is compoſed; and what are the ſtriking features which characterize his ſoul. This portraiture, delineated from his firſt, and honourable ſervices in Bengal, as they are by him ſo preſumptuouſly denominated, will then remain a kind of archi-tipe, with which to compare his honeſt features, as they will be ſeen in a ſecond delineation of him, after his laſt return from that unhappy land, in which he ſo plentifully

tifully ſowed the ſeeds of lamentation and of mourning, of extortion, plunder, famine, and ſurgery. It was during that time, among his other honourable ſervices, Sir Robert Fletcher was treated in that illiberal manner, which will be hereafter moſt faithfully related, and unanſwerably proved, to include a pre-meditated intention of deſtroying the well-gotten fame of a commander, who ſupported and increaſed the glory of the Eaſt-India company. What has been ſaid by Horace on the ſplendor of the ſun, is ſafely applicable to the darkneſs of his lordſhip, *Alius et idem negitur.*

We ſhall now trace the noble lord's footſteps through all thoſe honourable ſervices which he performed on the banks of the Ganges. As it is from actions alone, that the characters of men can be aſcertained, this narrative begins with thoſe which were performed by Lord Clive, whilſt he was firſt in Bengal after the retaking of Calcutta; and the progreſſion of his military, political, and rapacious deeds in that country, are examined. From this enquiry there will naturally ariſe a diſcovery of thoſe motives which urged his lordſhip in his career; what are the ruling paſſions of his ſoul; and the characteriſtics that ſo ſignally diſtinguiſh all his conduct. This narration is dictated by a heart, not dead to the ſenſations of human ſufferings, and the obligations of juſtice; it is ſupported by the oral accounts of perſons well informed of the ſubject, or by written and printed evidence, but chiefly derived from the depoſitions of Lord Clive himſelf, confirmed by orders given at the ſelect committee appointed by the houſe of com-

commons. On the veracity of this evidence his lordſhip will not refuſe to rely.

Aliver de Khawn, nabob of Bengal, and grandfather of Serajah Dowlah, being grown extremely old, and thinking himſelf no longer qualified to govern his people, had aſſociated his grandſon as his coadjutor in his ſovereignty, and placed him on the throne of his dominion in the year 1756. Keſſendas, a collector of the nabob's revenues, foreſeeing that the death of Aliver de Khawn was at no great diſtance, and apprehenſive of the conſequences which might probably ariſe to him on his deceaſe, withdrew himſelf from the court of the nabob, and under the pretence of making a pilgrimage as an act of devotion, he embarked his women and his treaſury on board a number of boats, and landed them at Calcutta about the end of March. At the ſame time, he brought letters from Mr. Watts, who was then the reſident, or miniſter for the company at Muxadabad, ſtrongly recommending him to Mr. Drake, the governor, as the ſon of Rajah, who had great power at court, and who might be of great ſervice to the Eaſt-India company's affairs in that province. Oliverda Khawn dying on the 9th of April in the ſame year, bequeathed his dominions to Serajah Dowlah, his grandſon. As the latter had been previouſly advanced to ſovereign authority, in conjunction with his grandfather, he took abſolute and full poſſeſſion of the government, without the leaſt reſiſtance; for although, according to the conſtitution of Indoſtan, the Mogul alone had the right to appoint nabobs to the provinces of that extenſive empire, and to remove them at his pleaſure; yet ſince the

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time in which Nadir Shaw had taken Dehly, and over-run the imperial ſtate, the Moguls were no longer maſters of appointing what nabobs they pleaſed; but thoſe alone aſcended to power, who, by art, arms, and money, could attain the means of placing themſelves in ſuch exalted ſtations; yet none of thoſe conceived themſelves to be conſtitutionally elevated, unleſs their government was ratified by a patent from the Mogul.

According to the conſtitution of Indoſtan, the miniſtry and collectors of the royal revenues in the reigns of proceeding nabobs, are amenable to the orders of them who ſucceed, and they cannot legally withdraw themſelves from their cognizance. Serajah Dowlah, being now the ſole governor of Bengal, by a letter to Mr. Drake, demands Kiſſindaſs to be delivered up to him, and this letter contained alſo remonſtrances againſt ſome new fortifications which were then erecting in defence of that place. Drake, contrary to the cuſtom hitherto obſerved, thought proper not to ſend back an anſwer by the perſon who brought the letter; but ordered him to leave the town immediately, under the unwarrantable pretence of his coming in diſguiſe, and not as a public meſſenger from the nabob.

This inſolent contempt on the diſpatches of a ſovereign, in whoſe dominions they lived, were tolerated and protected, contributed not a little to inflame his reſentment againſt the Engliſh. An anſwer to the letter above-mentioned however, was on more ſober reflection, not long after returned to the nabob. In this anſwer the governor poſitively refuſed either to give up the ſubject to his

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ſovereign, or to demoliſh the fortifications which were then erected. He then ſeized on Omichund, a rich merchant and ſubject of Bengal, under pretence of his fomenting the preſent diſcord between the nabob and the Engliſh, and confined him as a priſoner.

Whatever were the motives which produced this prepoſterous and unjuſtifiable conduct in Mr. Drake, or the recommendation in Mr. Watt's letter, of a man who had illegally deſerted his ſovereign's ſervice, do not appear from any thing which was delivered by the witneſſes before the ſelect committee. But, if we return to thoſe principles or ſome of theſe men, which were permanent in all their other tranſactions, and recall the idea of the numerous boats loaded with treaſure, which accompanied Kiſſindas to Calcutta, the cauſe of their conduct can remain no longer problematical. Serajah Dowlah conceived this treatment in Drake, who in conſequence of conceſſions made by former princes to the Engliſh, to be an unpardonable and inſolent defiance of his ſovereignty : he even deemed it a breach of theſe grants which they had formerly received, by the protection which they now offered to one ſubject who had fled from his ſovereign authority ; and the impriſonment of another, over whoſe perſon they had no legal right. In conſequence of this reſentment, with a view to preſerve his legal right from being contemptuouſly treated, and his people from the arrogant uſurpation of power by the Engliſh governor, the nabob marched his army to Calcutta.

It was now too viſible how impotent is arrogance unſupported by wiſdom, by courage, and by arms.

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The governor, who before had treated the nabob with inſult and diſdain, when he was at a diſtance, at his approach was terrified beyond meaſure. Ignorance and timidity directed all his actions; he fled from his duty; and Calcutta, after an attack of ſome days, was taken by aſſault.

By the law of arms, Serajah Dowlah might juſtifiably have chaſtiſed this arrogance of the council, and have put all the Engliſh to the ſword. On the contrary, when Mr. Holwell, who commanded after Drake, was brought before him in bonds, he ordered his hands to be unbound, and ſolemnly declared, that not a hair of their heads ſhould periſh. But this reſtoration of liberty in the perſon of Mr. Holwell, and the declaration of their ſafety, were not intended to preclude the means of preventing the Engliſh from renewing hoſtilities, or creating diſturbances in the night. They were therefore ordered to be confined, during that ſeaſon; but the officer who was delegated to the care of that order, unfortunately ſent them to a place called the black-hole; which being too ſmall for the number, and without a free admiſſion of freſh air, out of 150 that were therein ſhut up, no more than twenty-two of them ſurvived till eight the next morning. One muſt be callous to all tender ſenſations not to feel an unexpreſſible ſenſibility for the enormous ſufferings, which the unhappy priſoners muſt have undergone; in this more than torturing ſituation. It ſeems the nabob had no deſign of taking away the life of any individual perſon, who had been incloſed in that place of horror. This opinion is confirmed by the evidence, which Mr. Cooke, at that time ſecretary

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to the governor and council of Calcutta, has delivered before the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons; to this, he alſo adds, that, as he believed, the ſize of the black hole was unknown to the nabob.

The clamour which was then raiſed, and the horrors which were excited againſt this Aſiatic prince, as the willing perpetrator of thoſe enormous cruelties againſt the Engliſh, were exceſſive. And they have ſince been frequently applied in juſtification of thoſe egregious acts of injuſtice, which were at that time commenced, and have ſince been purſued by ſome of thoſe who then ſurvived, and thoſe who have ſucceeded them in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice againſt that prince, his ſucceſſors, and ſubjects; notwithſtanding this provocation on the part of governor Drake and the council, the nabob ſigned an inſtrument with Mr. Watts, that the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to carry on trade, on equal terms with all other nations, their patent of predilection being aboliſhed. Having promiſed what appeared to be neceſſary for the underſtanding of the ſubſequent parts, I ſhall now take the liberty of examining the evidence, and ſtate the atchievements of the heavenborn general, when he commanded in Bengal, and regardleſs of his celeſtial nativity, freely make my obſervations on his conduct. News being brought to Madras of the fate of Calcutta, it was reſolved to ſend a military force to recover it, and lieutenant colonel Clive was reſolved on by the council to have the command of it. This as his lordſhip aſſures us, was the wiſh of every officer. In the beginning of October the troops were embarked on board the

ſquadron and tranſports under the command of Admiral Watſon. On their arrival within a few miles of Calcutta, the land forces were diſembarked; and then his lordſhip makes a moſt general-like obſervation indeed, that the ſhips went by water, and the land troops went by land.

No commentator on the military actions of great commanders could have made ſo curious and ſo keen a remark. This ſtrange phænomenon of ſhips going by water, and land forces by land, together with a few ſhot fired from the fleet, ſo terrified the troops of Serajah Dowlah, that they abandoned the fort; and then his lordſhip boldly entered into it, at the head of theſe land forces that ſtill continued to march by land, and thus Calcutta was taken.

This fact being accompliſhed, his lordſhip ſays, he encamped his army, and entrenched himſelf about four miles from Calcutta, in expectation of Serajah Dowlah and his army, who were then on their march to that place. In a few days the nabob and his troops arrived, and they were permitted to paſs unmoleſted, by the heaven-born general, within half a mile of his lordſhip's camp; and then they encamped on the back of Calcutta. By this manœuvre they were ſituated between the Engliſh camp and the place his lordſhip intended to protect. Does not this event ſeem to convey a very exalted idea of his lordſhip's ſcience in the military art? during this march however, Serajah Dowlah, by letters to his lordſhip had propoſed a treaty and terms of peace. The natives who ſaw how things were circumſtanced between the two armies, fled from the country, and all communication by land

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with Calcutta being cut off by Serajah Dowlah, his lordſhip perceived that if ſomething was not done, both the ſquadron and the land forces would be ſtarved out of the country. On this account he ſent Mr. Scraſton and Mr. Walſh to the nabob that evening, and on their return theſe ambaſſadors aſſured his lordſhip, they thought the nabob was not ſincere in his attentions for peace, and that he meant treachery. From lord Clive's account it ſhould ſeem, the general, being a man of ſurprizing foreſight in military affairs, had forgotten that his army muſt eat, and conſequently had provided no ſuſtenance for them. And thus by encamping his own forces, and ſuffering thoſe of Serajah Dowlah without oppoſition to chooſe that ground on which they were encamped; he was prevented from receiving neceſſary proviſions for his troops, and in a great degree from protecting Calcutta.

The cravings of a hungry army are too ſolicitous to be appeaſed by a negociation for peace; ſuch being the ſituation of the two powers, and the circumſtances of the Engliſh. It was ſelf-evident that nothing was left to be undertaken by his lordſhip, but to ſtarve or fight. The ſame penetrating ſpirit of ſagacity, that induced the ſon of Hippiſley, the comedian, to take his hand from a hot iron bar without bidding, excited the Heaven-born general, without a council of war, to prefer the riſque of a battle, to the certainty of ſtarving. "On this account, being in a hungry hurry, he went immediately on board the admiral's ſhip, repeated to him the neceſſity of attacking the nabob without delay, and deſired to have four or five hundred ſailors to carry the ammunition, to which

which he aſſented." For it ſeems, the admiral was convinced, from his lordſhip's cloſe manner of reaſoning, or by the diſtreſsful ſituation in which he had placed himſelf, that an army which had nothing to eat, muſt ſoon be demoliſhed, unleſs they can ſpeedily get proviſions. To this deſtiny, he and his ſailors had as little inclination, as if they had been land-forces, and had come from Madras all the way by land. The ſailors were landed; the troops were in arms; and about four o'clock in the morning they marched to the attack of the nabob's camp: but hunger, that will eat through ſtone-walls, is not a leſs vigorous incentive to engage in battle. "It was his lordſhip's intention," as he ſays, "to have ſeized the nabob's cannon, and to have attacked his head quarters; but when day light appeared, it was nevertheleſs all darkneſs, for there aroſe ſo thick a fog, that it was impoſſible for the army to ſee three yards before them, which continued till they had marched through the nabob's whole army." His lordſhip "cannot aſcertain the loſs the enemy ſuffered, but it was reported to be very conſiderable;" becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, it being impoſſible for the troops under his lordſhip's command, to ſee three yards before them, they were thereby enabled to point their cannon and firelock with a greater certainty of killing than the Aſiatics." "Our loſs, however, amounted to about 150 killed and wounded. The Engliſh continued their march to the fort, where the troops were allowed an hour to reſt, and then ordered back to camp."

This as I take it, ſeems to be as well fought a field, as hath at any time been known on the ſur-

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face of the globe. His lordſhip did, indeed, deſign to do wonders: for, as he himſelf ſays, he intended to have ſeized the cannon, and to have attacked the head quarters of Serajah Dowla; but, a plague upon it, that peſtilent fog aroſe. And thus without ſeeing the enemy, or the enemy ſeeing them, he and his troops got clearly through the nabob's army; and again reached Calcutta, from which they had been intercepted by the encampment of the Aſiatic troops. Accordingly, to my manner of conceiving things, this ſingle event, were there no other inducements, would ſufficiently prevail on us to believe that his lordſhip is in reality a heaven-born general. For who of a leſs ſublime deſcent, has at any time, been ſo ſignally preſerved by a fog? Æneas, who was alſo a heaven-born general, on the mother's ſide, his lordſhip is as much ſo by the father's, as the mother's, was on one occaſion preſerved from the wrath of Diomedes by a fog; by Homer poetically called, her veil, in which his mother Venus enveloped him. On another he received the like favour, when he ſtood ſecure and unſeen, in the preſence of queen Dido, untill it was known what might be the inclinations of that princeſs towards him.

In this inſtance, near Calcutta, the general himſelf, and the whole army were not only preſerved from deſtruction, but a victory was obtained, by being ſurrounded with a fog, according to the accounts that were then publiſhed in the Gazette.

This ſucceſs, however, cannot with propriety be aſcribed to the heaven-born general: becauſe his intentions of ſeizing the cannon, and turning

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them againſt the nabob, were fruſtrated by the fog.

To the aſſiſtance of that alone, all the merits of this well-fought field, is inſtantly to be aſcribed as under that protection, he paſſed cleverly through the Aſiatic army to Calcutta. Serajah Dowlah having diſcovered, on the diſſipation of the fog, that under that concealment, the heaven-born general had eſcaped him, and regained Calcutta; marched from the place of his encampment, and the heaven-born general returned again to his former camp.

When the intelligence of this great and bloody victory was firſt tranſmitted to England, the Gazette told us that there was no more than forty-one killed, and ſixty-five wounded; in all, a hundred and ſix: for as Falſtaff ſaye, in ſpeaking of his buckram men, "It was ſo dark, Hal, thou couldeſt not ſee thy hand." Serajah Dowlah, having in like manner marched off in the ſame fog, was in the evening, eight or ten miles from the Engliſh army; and then he ſent a letter to the heaven-born general, and admiral Watſon, ſignifying, that he deſired to treat with them.

Upon this, it was agreed to receive his propoſals without delay; and a treaty was concluded, which is upon the company's records. The reaſon that this treaty was not more advantageous, continues his lordſhip, was, that he had juſt received advice of a war with France; and the French had within the garriſon of Chandernagore, as many Europeans as the Engliſh had in the field; and if the French had joined Serajah Dowlah before the concluſion of the peace, the Engliſh muſt have

have been undone; for there wanted only ſome intelligent perſon to adviſe the nabob not to fight at all, and the Engliſh would have been ruined. It will hardly be called in queſtion, that the fog being thus opportunely ſent, is a convincing proof that his lordſhip is a Heaven-born general. But as the invidious reluctance of mankind to acknowledge ſuperior birth in others, is too frequently ſeen in this wicked world, I would willingly flatter myſelf that a ſhort illuſtration of the latter part of this adventure, will ſatisfactorily evince it to be the celeſtial place of his nativity, by the propitious favour that was then beſtowed on him. What I mean is, his receiving the preceding advice at the very nick of time to ſave him from ruin.

Serajah Dowlah ſent letters to his lordſhip on the 4th of February with propoſals of peace. Meſſrs. Walſh and Scrafton returned from him with a perſuaſion that the nabob intended treachery. The battle was fought, the victory won; or rather the no-battle was fought, and the eſcape accompliſhed in the morning of the ſucceeding day. In the evening of the ſame day, Serajah Dowlah deſired to treat with the heaven-born general a ſecond time, and the latter was glad to receive it, without delay; for the reaſon for which he aſſigns.

From theſe circumſtances, it is not evident, that this advice muſt have arrrived the very day before the battle was fought, otherwiſe it muſt have appeared as requiſite to have entered on a treaty on the evening of the 4th, as of the 5th; for there appears no more reaſon to diſtruſt the truth of Meſſrs. Walſh and Scrafton's former diſcovery, at that time, than twenty-four hours before; nor to con-

conclude a peace becauſe Serajah Dowlah was marching off, than before the attack: unleſs to theſe reaſons the admonitions of hunger, and the ſuſpicion of being aſſiſted by a ſecond log, might have added their influence. Be that as it may, his lordſhip ſays, "If there had been one intelligent perſon to adviſe the nabob not to fight, the Engliſh had been undone; and therefore the heaven-born general enters on and concludes a treaty, to prevent Serajah Dowlah from engaging in battle.

As to his fears of the nabob's conjunction with the French, that event, his lordſhip tells us, he had the means of preventing. For, "During the treaty the French propoſed a neutrality which he refuſed." And many unenlightened perſons would have imagined that this refuſal was no improbable method of uniting him with the French, and ſupplying the nabob, with the aſſiſtance of the intelligent perſon, ſo requiſite to his ſucceſs. And this his lordſhip did, notwithſtanding "the nabob had forbidden the Engliſh to attack the French, and declared, if they did, he would become their enemy." Does not this behaviour fully evince the rectitude of that judgment, which his lordſhip had previouſly delivered? That, "if the nabob and the French were united before the peace, the Engliſh muſt have been undone;" and amply juſtify his notable refuſal of the neutrality, which would have precluded that union, and preſerved both him and his army from ruin? More eſpecially, as by that heavenly conduct, after being acquainted with the intentions of Serajah Dowlah towards the French, he did every thing in his power to promote

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the union of the two forces that muſt undo the Engliſh.

Is not this extremely conſiſtent with that wiſdom which ſo ſignally marks the conduct of his lordſhip? and may it not, from hence, be juſtly derived that he is as truly a heaven-born politician as a general? for certainly no earth-born being could have conducted himſelf ſo wiſely, in promoting the very event he feared and intended to preclude.

The treaty in conſequence of the antecedent overture, was ſigned the 9th of February 1757. Admiral Charles Watſon and colonel Clive promiſed in behalf of the Engliſh nation, and of the Engliſh company, that from henceforth all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe in Bengal; and the Engliſh will always remain in peace and friendſhip with the nabob, as long as the articles are kept in force, and remain unviolated. Theſe articles were ſigned by the nabob, and witneſſed by Meer Jaffier, and Rajah Dowlabram.

It is no incurious queſtion, to aſk by what authority his lordſhip ſubſcribed this treaty, in the name of the Engliſh nation, by whom was he delegated to this authority? not by the Engliſh nation; for they poſſeſs no ſuch right: not by the king; for by him it was never granted.

What was it then leſs than an uſurpation of authority hitherto unknown, and a ſpecies of rebellion in thus preſuming to contemn his ſovereigns rights, and to ſet up one for his ſubjects.

To this unexampled act of audacioufneſs, for leſs than which Lally lay ſhorter by a head at Paris, was added, the following agreement, of the ſame date with the treaty. "We, the Eaſt India company,

in the preſence of Serajah Dowlah, by the hands and ſeals of the council, by firm agreement, and ſolemn atteſtation, do declare, that the buſineſs of the company's factories, within the juriſdiction of the nabob, ſhall go on in it's former courſe: that we will never oppreſs or do violence to any perſon without cauſe, that we will never offer protection to any having accounts with the government, any of the king's (the Mogul) collectors of his rents, nor to murderers, nor robbers. That we will never act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the nabob: That we will carry on our buſineſs as formerly, and will never, in any reſpect, deviate from this agreement."

Such was the ſolemn atteſtation and agreement of the council at Calcutta: with this the ſubſequent agreement of lord Clive was enjoined. "I, colo-"nel Clive, commander of the Engliſh land for-"ces at Bengal, do ſolemnly declare in the pre-"ſence of God and our Saviour, that there is peace "between the nabob Serajah Dowlah, and the "Engliſh. They the Engliſh will inviolably ad-"here to the articles of the treaty made with the "nabob, and that as long as he ſhall obſerve his "agreement, the Engliſh will always look upon "his enemies, as their enemies; and, whenever "called upon, will grant him all the aſſiſtance in "their power."

Such was the ſolemn ratification of the treaty for which his lordſhip is pleaſed to give reaſons, in his evidence, that it is not more advantageous. When it is conſidered that by the 4th article, the company is allowed to fortify Calcutta, as they ſhall think proper, and in the agreement, by the coun-

cil,

cil, that they will not afford protection to ſuch as have accounts with the nabob, nor to murderers and robbers; can it be reaſonably concluded otherways than that the council by their former tranſgreſſions reſpecting Kiſſindaſs, and by their treatment of the nabob, in the perſon of his meſſenger, had given juſt cauſe of offence, and for the taking of Calcutta? and conſidering that the affair of the battle was no more than an eſcape in a fog, and that the fleet and army would have been ſtarved without it; does not the treaty ſeem to have been as advantageous, as could have been equitably expected? however, it muſt be confeſſed, that there is one point in which his lordſhip might not think it ſo advantageous as it ought to have been; for the heaven-born general gets nothing for his ſervice but honour, if he acquired that. And although before the committee," as Fluellen ſays, "of ancient Piſtol, he uttered as brave words as you ſhall ſee of a ſummer's day," and talk'd ſo highly of his honourable ſervices, as if he had preſerved the ſtate; yet, by his actions, it is at leaſt as equally apparent, that his notions of honour coincided with thoſe of Sir John Falſtaff; who with pronouncing "honour to be a mere ſcutcheon concludes his catechiſm." Now having attempted to prove that his lordſhip is heaven-born, both as a general, and a politician; I come now to evince that he is not leſs of heavenly deſcent, as a man of honour and conſcience.

It is more than probable, that during the time in which this treaty was negociating with Serajah Dowla, for the eſtabliſhment of peace; two others of a very different kind were entered on: one between

tween his lordſhip and Meer Jaffier; and the other between the former and Rhada Gar Khawn Laity, competitor with Meer Jaffier, for the ſubahſhip of Bengal; and conſequently both to the ſame purport of depoſing that very prince, whoſe ſubjects they were, and whom his lordſhip had promiſed to defend by a ſolemn declaration before God and his ſaviour. Be that as it may, Serajah Dowlah retired with his army to his capital; and never infracted, nor refuſed to comply with one article of the treaty. Monſieur Dupleix had already ſhewn the heaven-born general, how lucrative it was to traffic in the manufacture of nabob-making. It hath been frequently obſerved, that the French are more fertile in inventions, and that the Engliſh more excellent in improving on them.

In no inſtance hath that obſervation been more ſignally verified, than in this, of which I am ſpeaking.

Notwithſtanding the nabob hath thus given every proof of intending to fulfill his obligations, lord Clive affected to believe and to propagate, that becauſe the ſovereign reſolved to preſerve his dominions from the calamities of war, had forbidden the Engliſh to attack the French, and ſent the latter, men and money, to preſerve them from that diſaſterous event, which muſt inevitably involve his own ſubjects in diſtreſs, that he intended to commence hoſtilities againſt the Eaſt-India company. But to an underſtanding ſuſceptible of conceiving the duties of a ſovereign, and directed by the dictates of a pure conſcience, this conduct of the nabob will appear to be expreſſive only of the providence of a good and benevolent prince, who intends the happineſs of his ſubjects. For, "at this

this time," says Mr. Dow, in his history of Indostan, "In Bengal, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were encouraged; it was one of the richest, most populous, and best cultivated kingdoms in the world; the great men and the merchants were wallowing in wealth and luxury; the inferior tenants and the manufacturers were bless'd with plenty, content, and ease; it was not then the custom to take the honey by destroying the swarm. The English were more rigid than the Moguls.

We have encroached on their privileges, and annihilated their power, "These were scenes of oppression which fate had reserved for an unfortunate people to our times.

The servants of the freest nation upon earth have left the body of the people to the mercy of the collectors of the territorial revenues; and the miseries of Bengal were reserved for these times." but alas! such is the obduracy of the human heart, when invested with power, and stung with the lust of acquiring wealth, that the virtues of the sovereign, and the happiness of fifteen millions of inoffensive subjects, weighed little in the scale of ambition and rapaciousness. For although every circumstance evinced, that the nabob was resolved on preserving peace to himself and of preventing it from being infracted by those people whom his predecessors and the moguls had permitted to establish factories in their dominions, for the sake of enriching the country and their subjects by commerce; yet the conscientious lord Clive, had no doubt that Serajah Dowlah then intended to drive the English out of Bengal."

Would

Would to heaven that this ſuſpicion had been accompliſhed at that time! what millions of unoffending people would then have eſcaped the calamities of war, ruin, devaſtation and famine; and England not have contaminated her honour by actions, which diſgrace the idea of humanity. "A reinforcement, ſays his lordſhip, arriving from Bombay, it was taken into conſideration by the committee conſiſting of Drake, Clive, Kilpatrick, and Beecher; whether they ſhould undertake the attack of Chandernagore at the riſk of diſpleaſing the nabob, and having his army to encounter? Beecher and Kilpatrick gave their opinions for a neutrality; his lordſhip for the attack; and Drake gave an opinion which nobody could make any thing of." It ſeems then, that this Mr. Drake had not a capacity ſufficient to ſay, yes or no; when the queſtion was put for attacking the French: which ſeems to be a degree of underſtanding, hardly ſuperior to that of an ideot. For unleſs this be allowed, the repreſentation of it by his lordſhip is incredible. Thus there were two and one, nothing to one againſt his lordſhip. "But major Kilpatrick aſked lord Clive, whether he thought, the forces and ſquadron could attack Chandernagore, and the nabob's army at the ſame time; and his lordſhip ſaid, he thought they could: the major then deſired to withdraw his opinion and to be of his lordſhip's" Upon this, lord Clive, Kilpatrick, and Beecher took upon them to vote whether the governor Drake's opinion, was any opinion at all: and in this vote the colonel and the major being a majority, it paſſed that what the governor had voted, was no vote. This is probably the firſt inſtance in which a committee have

have ever dared to deliberate, whether the firſt in rank of that committee had or had not given an intelligent vote; and to ſet him aſide in voting whether he had or not; and then determine to his diſhonour, that he had not; his lordſhip treads new paths wherever he attempts to paſs: and if this deciſion be not equitable, it is at leaſt audacious, *audaces fortuna juvat*, but there exiſted no other means of obtaining a majority than by converting or excluding one of the two opponents to his lordſhip's opinion; and as the former could not be done, the majority was obtained by the votes of two, that the opinion of one of the other two was no opinion at all; this proves that it was poſitively againſt his lordſhip, and that this ignominious artifice was invented to render it, ineffective. A letter was then written to Admiral Watſon, deſiring him to co-operate in the attack of Chandernagore, and here I ſhall preſume to aſk, whether it can be conſidered as an act of preſumption in me to imagine, that his lordſhip's differing in opinion, at firſt, from all the others, was entirely owing to his ſuperior knowledge, in what might be effected by the Engliſh army: or to that time, carried on between him and Meer Jaffier, by the inter-mediation, of Mr. Watts, reſident at Muxadaved.

In conſequence of this opinion, thus obtained, Chandernagore was, at the ſame time, attacked by ſea and land, and it ſoon ſurrendered. His lordſhip ſays "the ſquadron ſurmounted difficulties which he believed, no other ſhips could have done, and it was impoſſible for him to do the officers

ſicers of the ſquadron juſtice upon that occaſion, and it was in a great meaſure taken by them."

But notwithſtanding this, his lordſhip "does believe that the place would have been taken by the army, if the ſquadron had not gone up; it muſt have fallen into their hands, but not ſo ſoon. What may be his lordſhip's reaſons for believing that the place would have been taken without the aſſiſtance of that ſquadron, which did more than my other ſhips could have done, and by which, he ſays, it was in a great meaſure taken, is beyond my capacity to determine. But I am of an other belief; becauſe all thoſe who have been examined on this occaſion, are unanimouſly of an opinion directly oppoſite to that heaven-born general; however, to do juſtice to his lordſhip's ſingular ſentiments, I do heartily agree with that part of it, which he next delivers." I think, ſays he, "if the land forces and ſeapoys, could have been landed in Calcutta, every event which has happened, would have happened, without the aſſiſtance of the fleet."

I am apprehenſive that I do not clearly conceive the meaning of my Lord. Does he mean if the land forces could have been landed out of ſhips, without the aſſiſtance of ſhips to bring them? or that were it poſſible to have landed them in Calcutta itſelf, where they could not be landed? why then, indeed, in either of theſe caſes, I ſhould be of his lordſhip's opinion. But as it was impoſſible theſe things could be ſo contrived, I conclude diametrically on the contrary ſide to the heavenly-born general.

From this ſpecies of logic, ſo frequently to be met with in his lordſhip's evidence, I ſhould have been

inclined

inclined to think were marriages allowed in heaven, that this heaven-born general was begotten by St. Patrick after he was fainted, but perhaps the Iriſh title may have conveyed ſomething of the country along with it.

After Chandenagore was reſolved to be attacked, my lord informs us, he repeatedly ſaid to the committee and others, That they could not ſtop there, but muſt go farther: that having eſtabliſhed themſelves by force, and not by the conſent of the nabob, he would endeavour to drive them out again." Does not this preparative opinion for attacking the nabob, bear even the caricatured features of having concluded, or at leaſt of having commenced the treaty for dethroning Serajah Dowlah? and when his lordſhip declares, that they had eſtabliſhed themſelves without the conſent of the nabob, did not his celeſtial memory fail, or his divine conſcience deſert him? ſince he had concluded a treaty, not two months before, with that nabob, who had therein conſented to their eſtabliſhment; and granted them terms of advantage, adequate to the deſires of every honeſt man? It cannot but be confeſſed, that it was an act of no ſmall atrociouſneſs, to preſume to attack the French in that part of the world, and bring the miſeries of war on the ſubjects of a ſovereign, in whoſe dominions theſe aſſailants reſided but by toleration: more eſpecially, as it is expreſsly ſaid by lord Cambden, and the late chancellor York who were at that time attorney and ſollicitor-general in their report, December 24, 1757, on the petition of the Eaſt-India company, "That it is agreeable to the terms and intention of all the charters given to the company by

his majeſty, or his royal predeceſſors, which empower them to make war in the Eaſt-Indies, only to recompenſe themſelves for loſſes or to repel invaders. And neither of theſe circumſtances required either the attacking the French, or the ſpreading of devaſtation and war over the dominions of the nabob. This intention therefore was doubly unjuſt: it is at the ſame moment an ignominious breach of treaty with an unoffending ally, and a tranſgreſſion of thoſe rights of making war, which are by the laws of England, granted to the Eaſt-India company. And ſurely that army, which had been pronounced to be able to engage Serajah Dowlah, and to attack Chandernagore, at the ſame time, had now much leſs reaſon to fear, or to go farther, and declare hoſtilities againſt a prince with whom they had ſo lately ſworn to live in friendſhip, and defend them before the French fortreſs was taken. Was it not the knowledge of this treaty, ſo treacherous on the part of ths Engliſh, that concealed within his lordſhip's boſom, urged him to the adoption of the antecedent opinion? but the noble lord continues, that they had numberleſs proofs of the nabob's intentions upon many records." Numberleſs indeed, my lord, for that which exiſts not cannot be numbered. But were it in your power to have produced one ſuch record, either in heaven, earth, or hell, ſhould not your lordſhip have brought it, on an occaſion the moſt important to the vindication of your honour, and the ſupport of that honeſt fame, which is more dear than life to thoſe who deſerve the name of man? yet not one of all the number, which his lordſhip would have

have the world to believe to be exiſting, has he adduced; and in Vanſittart's narrative it is declared to be a mere ſuſpicion. Has he forgotten that on the 7th of February preceding this declaration to admiral Watſon "he had ſolemnly declared, in the preſence of God and his Saviour, that there ſhall be peace between the nabob and the Engliſh; that the Engliſh will inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the nabob; that as long as he ſhall obſerve his agreement, the Engliſh will always look upon his enemies as their enemies, and whenever called upon, will grant him all the aſſiſtance in their power."

Was it not worth your care, my lord, to produce one record out of the amazing number, to free you from this heinous charge of violating your declaration, ſo ſolemnly plighted in the preſence of God and your Saviour. Can neither the obligations of religion nor of conſcience, united with the ſenſations of honour, and the ſtipulations held ſacred in human alliances, preſerve the leaſt influence in your boſom? whatever may be your opinion reſpecting theſe momentous conſiderations, the breach of them has been, is and ever will be deteſted even by villains, when they have no views of acquiring riches, nor direct and immediate intereſt in ſuch particulars. Can you conceive that money, which purchaſes every thing in this world, can prevail in heaven alſo? and that whatever may be the atrociouſneſs of the crime, the puniſhment can be bought off? Can you ſleep, my lord? Does conſcience, that "makes cowards of us all", not touch your lordſhip's boſom? or has gold become ſo powerful an anodyne, that it lulls to reſt

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all feelings of remorſe ; and renders you inſenſible to every impulſe that ſtrikes from heaven and from hell, and cleanſes the hearts of other men. Theſe queſtions are fully reſolved by his lordſhip's evidence. He confeſſes " he did ſuggeſt to admiral Watſon and Sir George Pococke, the neceſſity of a revolution." This hideous deſign he confeſſes, even uncalled to ſuch confeſſion in his evidence. Even at this time, after the unexampled and accumulated perpetration of ſuch deeds, the deſcription of which is too terrifying to be attempted by my feeble and unequal pen : Is it not more than chriſtian charity enjoins us to implore the mercy even of the all-merciful on men ſo loſt to every invitation of virtue, and ſo inſenſible to all feelings of humanity, ſhame and conſcience. But to what enormities will not the incitements of full ambition, and the luſt of gold impel mankind ? his lordſhip proceeds, " Mr. Watſon and the gentlemen of the committee agreed upon the neceſſity of it, and the management of that revolution was with the conſent of the committee, left to Mr. Watts and my lord," and they with joy accepted and carried it into execution. Forbear your execrations, readers, if you can ! with reſpect to the committee, I have not one word to offer in their defence. But as to admiral Watſon's conſent, the ſole being in the whole number engaged in this treacherous and ſanguinary machination, who appears to have the leaſt idea of honour, faith, and conſcience, I have my doubts. There is reaſon to ſuſpect alſo, that his lordſhip's manœuvres has failed him on this occaſion ; for Mr. Brereton, the only evidence on the ſpot, at the time of this tranſaction depoſes,

depoſes, that admiral Watſon thought this revolution a diſhonourable undertaking, and the iniquity of thoſe who were engaged in it ſo great, that he had no deſire to remain among them any longer. He thought it an extraordinary meaſure to dethrone that prince with whom they had ſo lately made a ſolemn treaty. But as he was inſtructed by the king to afford the Eaſt-India company aſſiſtance in their affairs; he aſſiſted them with his forces according to his duty, for theſe reaſons and this which follows, from the lips of lord Clive, "That Mr. Watſon was always conſulted, but declined being a member of the committee:" Can it be doubted that he did not approve the inſidious undertaking which was to dethrone a prince, who had neither violated nor evaded one article of the treaty, and who remained in tranquillity, although colonel Clive had preſumed to commence the miſeries of war in his dominions againſt the French, who was as equally eſtabliſhed, as juſtly entitled to, and as lawfully lived under his protection as the Engliſh. Can it be otherwiſe than remarked, that as all thoſe who were then in Bengal, and were called as witneſſes before the committee, that Mr. Brereton is almoſt the only perſon who can be truly ſaid not to have been a witneſs in his own cauſe; and on that account, more unexceptionably deſerves the credit of the public in what he depoſes: not that I mean to reflect on the teſtimonies which have been given by ſeveral others, who have delivered their evidence on this occaſion. To the General and to Watts the conduct of this honourable ſervice of depoſing Serajah Dowlah was committed: both of theſe deſerving perſonages, the firſt as commander of the army,

army, the ſecond as member of the council, had by firm agreement and ſolemn atteſtation in the preſence of God, declared that they would "inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty." Watts at the time of framing the conſpiracy, was reſident at the nabob's court, as miniſter for the company; and with him his conſcientious lordſhip correſponded in cyphers. Meer Jaffier was the man who offering the largeſt ſum for the perpetration of this inſidious act, was determined to be placed on the throne of Bengal. In conſequence of this concluſion, a treaty was ſtipulated with the ſubject to dethrone his ſovereign; and by the very ally, who no more than three months before, had ſolemnly ſworn to protect him from all his enemies.

The treaty which had been concluded with Serajah Dowlah on the 7th of February, had by the 3d article ſtipulated, "That reſtitution be made to the company of their factories and ſettlements which had been taken from them, &c. that an equivalent in money be given for ſuch goods as were damaged, plundered or loſt, which ſhould be left to the nabob's juſtice to determine. This circumſtance affords an evidence, that even in the minds of the general and council, Serajah Dowlah was a prince in whoſe integrity and juſtice it was ſafely to be confided; and that he had given no cauſe of ſuſpicion, that he would evade or refract the articles to which he had ſworn according to his own religion. Beſides the unjuſtifiableneſs of the attempt, the intereſt of the company, whoſe ſervants; both his lordſhip and the council were loudly pronounced againſt the undertaking of a deed ſo perfidious, ſo diſgraceful, and ſo inhuman. His lord-

lordſhip notwithſtandiug this objection, reſolved without heſitation, to ſtake the exiſtence of the company in Bengal, on an attempt which was to enrich himſelf and his aſſociates. It is a deprecrating reflection on human kind, but I fear it is too juſt to be denied, that ſucceſs in diſhonourable endeavours is too frequently juſtified by the approbation of others, who are enriched by it. His lordſhip, the committee, and the council were convinced of the truth of this ſcandalous depravity ſo prevalent in human nature, when it has been civilized by wealth, obtained even by the deſtruction of the innocent and deſerving: and they accordingly prepared the means by which that event might be effectuated; proſperity attended their criminal tranſactions. The treaty with Meer Jaffier, which preceded the depoſing of Serajah Dowlah, included evident marks of the provident nature. Inſtead of confiding in the juſtice of the nabob to make ſatisfaction for the loſs and injuries which the company, the council and the factors had ſuffered, certain ſums were expreſsly ſtipulated to be paid by Meer Jaffier, to all who had ſuffered at Calcutta by the troops of Serajah Dowlah, and to impart on one of diſintereſted intentions, thoſe whoſe loſſes had not been included in the treaty with Serajah Dowlah, were conſidered in that of Meer Jaffier. "In conſequence of this, 1,200,000 l. was to be given to the company, &c. and on Mr. Becher's ſuggeſtion that the committee, who managed the great machine of government, was entitled to ſome conſideration as well as the navy and army: Mr. Watts was written to on that ſubject; but what that conſideration was, his lordſhip

ſhip never knew till after the battle, as it is called of Plaſſey.' This being known it ſeems, "Mr. Watſon inſiſted that he was entitled to ſhare of that money; but the majority of the gentlemen would not agree to it; and my lord himſelf was of opinion, that Mr. Watſon was not of the committee: but he propoſed to the gentlemen to contribute as much as would make his ſhare equal to the governor's and his own, and ſent the proportion of the ſhare he had received. "In this place it is neceſſary to remark the modeſty of the general. He and the council-ſervants of a trading company, debated upon the claim of Mr. Watſon, the king's admiral, whether he ſhould have a ſhare in the money which was given: and then denying he had any right, propoſed a contribution which was alſo rejected: but the general ſays he did juſtice to his ſervices, although he denied him his juſt right to the money. Indeed, before the battle of Plaſſey, there ſeemed to be no great occaſion to be particular in an enquiry, of the ſpecific ſum which Watts had ſtipulated for the ſelect committee: but when the hen had hatched, it was expedient to know the number of the chickens: and then on hearing the ſum, his lordſhip was conſcience-touched, and declared, "he thought it too much, and propoſed that the council ſhould have a ſhare in it. And in this manner it was contrived that all ſhould participate in the prey, that none might be left to be clamorous againſt the iniquity. And this is a ſpecimen that the policy of his lordſhip was equal to his ſordid appetite; for may it not be reaſonably concluded, that the council, who had approved

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the deſign; would have heavily complained of not ſharing in the plunder, and have repreſented this affair in a light unfavourable to the general, in their letters to the directors in England? in this place therefore, thoſe who are not intimately acquainted with the conſcientious deſigns of his lordſhip, may probably impute his opinion to left-handed wiſdom, than to motives ſpringing from a ſenſe of equity in the diſtribution of the money. The ſum was however, as Mr. Becher had ſtated it, about 100,000l. and this ſum added to the preceding, amounts to two millions of money, which Meer Jaffier had ſtipulated to pay on being ſeated on the throne of Bengal: beſides immenſe preſents, as it will be ſeen hereafter.

The three conſpirators are gone to receive the reward of their tranſactions, where they muſt find that the whole wealth of India cannot influence their judge. The principal actor in this tragedy executed juſtice on himſelf; and on no occaſion have I heard a more general lamentation among all ſuch of the human race, as do not righteouſly deſerve to be publickly put to death. The infamy, infidiouſneſs and crime of being at once an ambaſſador at a court of an allied ſovereign, and a conſpirator againſt him even in this degenerate age, wants not the terrific pencil of Spagniſter to fill our ſouls with horror. Whilſt the miniſter was frequently with Serajah Dowlah on terms of favour, he was refariouſly plotting his deſtruction. But on this deteſtable undertaking, it was found expedient to aſſociate that Omichund already mentioned, who was a Bengal merchant and confined a priſoner in Calcutta by Drake, when the place

was taken and plundered by Serajah Dowlah. Omichund having ſuſtained a conſiderable diminution of his riches from the nabob's army, when they plundered Calcutta, was not only incenſed againſt his prince, but deſirous of regaining by treaſon what he had loſt by war. At the ſame time, as he had been ill treated by the Engliſh, in being impriſoned, he was naturally a perſon unſuſpected of being well inclined to them; and as he was a man of weight and intimacy with Meer Jaffier, and other great men of the nabob's court, he was eſteemed to be a proper perſon to be co-adjutor in this perfidious cauſe. Omichund was neither leſs infidious, leſs rapacious, nor leſs honeſt than either of thoſe who planned and were carrying on the work. He therefore, with readineſs engaged in this conſpiracy; and when things were ſo far advanced that he poſſeſſed the power of diſcloſing and preventing the deſign, he reſolved to avail himſelf of that power; for he concluded, that thoſe with whom he was conjoined in treachery, totally void of faith and honour, from the notorious violation of both, by their perfidious breach of treaty with Serajah Dowlah: and therefore, that no confidence could be reaſonably placed in their promiſes. He was in like manner and for the ſame reaſons, equally convinced that the terror of diſcovery and death alone could operate on men of ſuch abandoned principles. Being therefore aſſociated in their crimes, he reſolved to participate in their depredations; and peremptorily demanded of Watts 30 lacks of rupees, and five per cent. on Serajah Dowlah's treaſures, which amounted to four millions ſterling, and if Watt's refuſed to comply with this demand, he ſaid, he would

would inform the nabob of their design, and get him put to death. Watts terrified by this menace, transmitted this account to his lordship; and my lord, on receiving this advice assumes the honourable service of planning the means of preserving Watts, deceiving Omichund, and continuing him a faithful ally in their execrable undertaking. And all this was to be accomplished by a fictitious treaty, for he had previously planned the deposing of Serajah Dowlah, by a real one. To this account his lordship adds, "That he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain as Omichund; and that the council assented to it."

It is very remote from my intention to attempt an extenuation of this charge of villainy in Omichund. I readily allow its truth: but at the same time I acknowledge myself in great embarrassment, by what arguments to make that an honourable service in his lordship, which was villainous in Omichund. The merchant, a subject of Serajah Dowlah, was engaged in a conspiracy against his sovereign unactuated by any palliating motives.

His lordship had declared, in the presence of God and his Saviour, that he would invariably adhere to the treaty made with the nabob: he had been the planner also, or at least the approver of purchasing Omichund to dethrone his prince. The treaty with Meer Jaffier was not in consequence of defeating Serajah Dowlah openly in arms, but a preparative stipulation to encourage them to a hostile invasion of his country, without his having afforded the least reasonable pretext for this detestable breach of faith. His lordship confidently pronounces,

nounces, that all his are honourable ſervices, and defies the world to contradict it. I muſt therefore reſign it to better caſuiſts to ſettle this diſtinction, and explain in what manner villainy in Omichund and honour in his lordſhip, can ariſe from the ſame tranſactions. But his lordſhip is an honourable man: ſo are they all; all honourable men. The words of Sir John Falſtaff ſo diſtinguiſhed for his elevated and ſentimental conceptions of honour, "Plague upon't, when thieves cannot be true one "to another." The demand of Omichund was apparently complied with; and a treaty drawn up, in which it was ſtipulated, that he was to receive the thirty lacks of rupees, and the five per cent. on the nabob's treaſures: and by this artifice ſo warrantable in his lordſhip's opinion, Omichund was deluſively with-held from diſcovering the conſpiracy to his ſovereign. It ſeems this fictitious treaty was written on red paper, the true one on white.

His lordſhip who knew that this red treaty muſt be deemed invalid by Omichund, if it were not ſubſcribed by Admiral Watſon, conceiving alſo, that in all men intereſt would ſuperſede the ſenſe of honour, tranſmitted that treaty to be ſigned and ſealed by that naval commander. But this Watſon, whoſe heart was heart of oak, when he was engaged in his ſovereign's ſervice, and in actions truly honourable, had on many occaſions a head that was heart of oak alſo. For it was not to be impreſſed with an opinion, that actions, ignominious in themſelves can be rendered honourable, by the acquiſition of riches that are conſecutive of them. He would therefore neither ſign nor ſeal that deluſive

treaty;

treaty; but absolutely condemned it as infamous in itself, and dishonourable in him to approve or ratify. On this occasion his lordship first says, "Mr. Watson refused to sign it; but to the best of his remembrance, gave Lushington who carried it, leave to sign it for him. That his lordship never made any secret of it. He thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times. He had no interested motive in doing it; and did it with expectations of deceiving a rapacious man: and yet we shall soon find, that this disinterested hero rapaciously acquired, beyond the sum of one million by this deceit, as much as would more than a hundred times reward his services, were they all honourable; as he so confidently pronounces them to have been: yet such is the difference of opinion amongst mankind, that I find not many people inclined to agree with his lordship's disinterestedness of temper, either on this occasion or any other; more particularly, as in another part of his evidence he says, "he had fixed upon this time to make his fortune easy, and certainly that event could not have been well accomplished, had Omichund discovered the conspiracy to Serajah Dowlah."

His lordship then asserts "he had never heard Mr. Watts had made a promise to Omichund of money directly nor indirectly. I beg his lordship's pardon, and desire to differ from him on this occasion; for if he had not heard that Mr. Watts had directly promised that Omichund should receive the money already mentioned, why did he plan a fictitious treaty, which in appearance was to give it to him?

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His lordſhip then ſays, that Mr. Luſhington was the perſon who ſigned admiral Watſon's name," by his lordſhip's order, and ſubſequent to this he adds, " he did not recollect whether Mr. Luſhington brought back the treaty with Mr. Watſon's name. To the beſt of his remembrance, Luſhington told him, that admiral Watſon gave him leave to ſign his name to the fictitious treaty. He does not recollect whether Mr. Watſon's ſeal was put to it; but believes the name and ſeal were put to both the treaties, before they were diſpatched to Mr. Watts. And that his lordſhip in another part of his evidence, ſays, he ſhould not have declared that Watſon had conſented to have his name put to the fictitious treaty, if he had not underſtood ſo from Luſhington; but that he would have ordered his name to be put, whether the admiral had conſented or not. The reader muſt reconcile all theſe incongruities: we ſhall only remark, that in England, the ſigning or ordering to be ſigned, another man's name to a writing of the proceeding kind, is forgery, felony and death by the law, without benefit of the clergy; and as lord Cambden and the late chancellor York, when they were attornies and ſolicitor general, in their reports to his majeſty, on the petition of the Eaſt India company, December 24, 1757; do aſſert, " that his majeſty's ſubjects carry his laws with them, whereever they form colonies. I hope, his lordſhip will never attempt ſuch actions in England, as he would finiſh the carreer of his honourable ſrvices, by the ignominious death which thoſe do, who are guilty of forgeries and felonies. In Bengal indeed, his lordſhip's example has given even a legiſlative authority

thority to many inquities that no men would dare to practiſe in this country with impunity.

But according to the evidence of Mr. Brereton, the admiral neither ſigned nor ſealed the treaty, and refuſed the propoſition of being ſigned by another; for he adds, he had too great a heart, and that before the admiral died, he had heard that his name was put to the treaty; that the ſecret committee had agreed to ſhare the thirty lacks, ſtipulated for Omichund among themſelves, and to exclude the admiral from his ſhare, becauſe he had not ſigned the treaty, and that he thought it diſhonourable to deceive Omichund.

In order to accompliſh that deceit, and pacify Omichund, it was alſo lately requiſite that Meer Jaffier ſhould ſign the fictitious treaty as well as the real; and this he willingly performed for the preſervation of himſelf and finally depended on the concealment of that treaſon in which he was then engaged. At the ſame time he was induced to it by the conſideration that the real treaty was alone to be obligatory on him. But it ſeems his lordſhip and the ſelect committee were not diſpoſed to let the nabob, whom they had exalted, eſcape ſo eaſily, when the depoſing and murder of Serajah Dowlah were compleatly perpetrated. Omichund was indeed deprived by the real treaty of that reward, for his villanies, which was ſtipulated in the fictitious, and to give the thirty lacks to his lordſhip and his ſelect committee, among whom, it ſeems they were honeſtly divided, as the renumeration of their honourable ſervices. All this plunder, duplicity and perfidiouſneſs, was thought warrantable on ſuch occaſions. Mr. Cooke, alſo ſecretary

cretary to the ſelect committee in Bengal, at the time of this tranſaction, depoſes in his evidence, that admiral Watſon ſaid "he had not ſigned the treaty, but left them to do as they pleaſed; ſhrugging up his ſhoulders".

The two treaties, the real and fictitious, being thus ſigned and ſealed, were tranſmitted to Mr. Watts, who had been three months employed in negotiating the revolution, and the final terms of the agreement between Meer Jaffier, and that honeſt miniſter being ſettled, the army began their march in a few days, and then ſays his lordſhip, "when the army marched, Meer Jaffier had promiſed, that he and his ſon would join them with a large force at Cutwa."

But when they arrived there, they ſaw no appearance of forces to join them, but received letters from Meer Jaffier, that the nabob had ſuſpected his deſigns, and made him ſwear on the Koran that he would not act againſt him, and therefore he could not give the promiſed aſſiſtance; but that when they met Serajah Dowlah in the field, he would then act.

Omichund alſo had received letters from the nabob's camp, that the affair was diſcovered, and that Meer Jaffier and the nabob were one.

Hence it appears that this villain, this rapacious Omichund, was nevertheleſs entertained in the camp, the faithful confidant of the general, who had contrived the means of reſcinding him from what he as honeſtly deſerved as his lordſhip, each of them being engaged in the ſame honourable cauſe, violating either their oaths, their treaty or their allegiance.

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On this intelligence, his lordſhip allows, "he was much puzzled; for he thought it extremely hazardous to paſs a river, which is only fordable in one place; march 150 miles up the country, and riſque a battle; when if a defeat enſued, not one man would have returned to tell it. It is eaſy to believe, he was in a very great puzzle on this occaſion; and indeed, he ſeemed not to have gotten clear of it at the moment of his giving this relation. Is there a man living, who ſhall read this paſſage, that can imagine that the nabob and his army were not a hundred and fifty miles from his lordſhip? in complaiſance to ſo diſtinguiſhed a commander, I do not peremptorily pronounce, that this was not the truth:" and yet, his lordſhip ſays, "they croſſed the river, marched all night in inceſſant rain, and the nabob attacked them early in the morning. Now does it not ſeem ſomewhat difficult to account how the army of the heaven-born general, or of the nabob, or of both together, could have marched ſo expeditiouſly, as to have met each other in the ſpace of forty-eight hours? I have heard of flying ſquadrons, but never till this time of flying armies. Perhaps his lordſhip, who had revolted from his ſolemn declaration, in the preſence of God and his Saviour, was not a little puzzled on that occaſion, as he may be at preſent, to conceive how Meer Jaffier could poſſibly imagine himſelf to be bound by an oath taken on the koran of that impoſtor Mahomet. Whatever might have been the cauſe, no doubt can be admitted of the truth of that which his lordſhip has ſaid concerning his puzzlement. In this bewildered ſituation he called a council of war.

The queſtions he put were, "Whether they ſhould croſs the river and attack Serajah Dowlah with their own force alone, or wait for further intelligence."

Sir Eyre Coote gives in evidence, "that his lordſhip, at the council of war told them, that Monſieur Law, with a body of French was within three days march of joining the nabob, whoſe army was 50,000 men; and that he called them together for their opinion, whether in theſe circumſtances, it would be prudent to come to an immediate engagement with the nabob; or fortify themſelves where they were, and remain till the monſoon was over, and the Morattah's could be brought into the country and join them. "As Sir Eyre Coote does not appear to be puzzled on this occaſion, I chuſe to prefer his evidence.

His lordſhip is pleaſed to ſay alſo, that every member gave their opinions againſt an attack, till they had received further intelligence, except the captains Coote and Grant. "But Sir Eyre Coote depoſes, that the general and twelve others were againſt coming to an engagement, and that he and ſix more were for an immediate action." His lordſhip does indeed declare, that he made a miſtake in his former evidence reſpecting the members of his council of war, who voted for an immediate attack of the nabob; but, that he was led into this miſtake from not having conſulted a ſingle record from that time to this. Many are the reaſons which may ariſe in the minds of men, why this noble lord has not looked into theſe records. For who chooſes to look into a charnel houſe filled with the bones of men whom he has put to death. He

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knew that a committee of parliament were authorised, and would examine him and enquire into his tranſactions; to whom his lordſhip was, in duty and in honour bound, to give the moſt perfect information in his power. In this inſtance, he treated the ſenate of Great Britain, as he did the council of Calcutta, an inſult not eaſily to be equalled in the records of parliament, although it paſſed unnoticed.

At this council of war Sir Eyre Coote gave the following reaſons for an engagement: "That having hitherto met with nothing but ſucceſs, and the men in great ſpirits, delay might caſt a damp. That the joining of Monſieur Law with the nabob, would ſtrengthen his army, add vigour to their councils, and weaken the Engliſh by the deſertion of the French, who had entered into the Engliſh ſervice, after the taking of Chandenagore. That the diſtance from Calcutta was ſo great, that all communication from thence would certainly be cut off; conſequently there was no reaſon to hope for ſupplies, and the army muſt ſoon be reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. If it could be impracticable to come to an immediate action, his opinion was for returning to Calcutta, which would have been a diſgrace to the army, and ruin to the company's affairs."

His lordſhip obſerves, as this was the only council of war he had ever called, and whoever will pay the leaſt attention to the reaſons of Sir Eyre Coote, muſt inevitably diſcern, that there never could have exiſted a more needleſs cauſe to convene ſuch a council, or to be undeciſive in what was to be undertaken; there was but one

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object that could be rationally purſued; an immediate engagement. And yet his lordſhip was greatly puzzled, and agrees with Sir Eyre Coote, that any other thing would have been the ruin of the Eaſt-India company; nevertheleſs, againſt this ſole preſervative, the heaven-born general voted.

Is it not ſtrange therefore, that he values his diſcernment, as he does in ſaying, "that if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the Eaſt-India company?" to whom then is the preſervation of it due? to his lordſhip and thoſe who united in opinion with him, or to Sir Eyre Coote and officers who voted for an immediate engagement? not to his lordſhip, whoſe opinion was confeſſedly ſuch, as muſt have ruined his maſters, and againſt which he himſelf determined to give battle. Sir Eyre Coote ſays, in about an hour after the council broke up, his lordſhip informed him unaſked, that notwithſtanding the reſolution of the council of war, he intended to march next morning, and accordingly, gave orders for the army to hold themſelves in readineſs; but his lordſhip is of another opinion, and declares, after about twenty four hours of mature conſideration, he took upon himſelf to break through the opinion of the council of war, and ordered the army to croſs the river.

Had my lord been content with the relation of Sir Eyre Coote, that he determined on an immediate engagement in about an hour after the council broke up, the world might have then thought he had been either, of the contrary opinion in council, with a view to hear that of others, and to conceal his own; or that convinced by the reaſons,

ſons, which had been conveyed in the arguments of Sir Eyre Coote, he had military knowledge ſufficient to diſcern the ſelf evident truth; that the only thing which could preſerve on the company from ruin was the ſole object that could be purſued; but his lordſhip took twenty four hours mature conſideration, to determine on this affair, on which an earth-born general would never have convened a council of war to debate, or have retarded a moment from carrying it into execution.

On the 22d of June, ſays his lordſhip, the army croſſed the river, marched all night amidſt inceſſant rains, until they reached Plaſſey grove, and early in the morning they were attacked by Serajah Dowlah in that ſituation. As the battle had already been given, in part by Sir Eyre Coote, he ſhould only obſerve, that its being attended with ſo little bloodſhed, aroſe from two cauſes; firſt, the army was ſheltered by ſo high a bank, that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not poſſibly do them much miſchief. This advantageous ſituation was, however of neceſſity taken, under the auſpicious guidance of the night, becauſe the army marched all night, and was attacked the next morning; thus on a former occaſion, the heaven-born general was aſſiſted by a fog, in this he was preſerved by darkneſs; by the former he eſcaped through the enemy's army almoſt undiſcovered; by the latter he was led to a ſtation in which he was ſecured from their heavy artillery by a bank. I humbly preſume that this ſituation being not of his lordſhip's choice, is another proof of his being favoured by the place of his nativity; and with what admirable propri-

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ety, he is diſtinguiſhed by the exalted name of the heaven-born general.

As his lordſhip is pleaſed to acquieſce with Sir Eyre Coote's account, I muſt apply thereto, in order to ſhew that the generalſhip of this day, is not to be equalled by all the acts of other magnanimous commanders; as it is demonſtratively to be evinced by the records of all theſe illuſtrious writers, who have tranſmitted their atchievements to poſterity.

The deſcription of this battle unhappily is not in the reports: this omiſſion I imagine, could have proceeded from no other cauſe, than that ſome of the ſelect committee invidious of that exemplary and ſuperior ſkill in war, which his lordſhip manifeſted on this occaſion, ignobly choſe to ſecrete it from the admiration of the world, to cover the glories of the heaven-born general in oblivion, and to prevent all ſucceeding commanders from profiting by this magnificent leſſon on future enterprizes. From what other motive could it have ariſen but from envy? ſurely neither Mr. Strachey, his lordſhip's ſecretary and penman, nor any other of his friends, could have joined in the malicious deſign of concealing the glorious tranſactions of that well fought and bloody field; ſince from the deathleſs honours of that day, his lordſhip has taken his illuſtrious title, of Baron of Plaſſey.

From Sir Eyre Coote's evidence, the following deſcription of that glorious battle, was publiſhed in the minutes of the ſelect committee.

"Our army had now arrived at Plaſſey Grove in the morning; the nabob's army appeared at the diſtance

diſtance of five miles, marching round us towards the right, with a numerous train of artillery: the cannon being mounted on bundles of bambous tied together, and each piece drawn by twenty or thirty pairs of oxen; while the troops, elephants, and camels richly cloathed, caſtled and caparifoned, appeared through the train; ſo that the ſight, to an undeſcerning mind, really ſeemed formidable. At the ſame time, every circumſtance to a judicious underſtanding, proved their weakneſs.

At ſix in the morning, the cannonading began on both ſides. Our army was then ordered into a line of battle before the grove. We remained in that poſition motionleſs, and expoſed to the enemy's fire till eleven. When having loſt a few men, lord Clive retired to Plaſſey houſe, and ordered the troops to follow under cover of the wood. In the midſt of this confuſion and uncertainty, the colonel called a council of war. But when the officers arrived at the houſe appointed, he had nothing to propoſe. In this place, I cannot but remark, with what immenſe judgment the general kept his army motionleſs, and expoſed to the enemy's fire for five whole hours, in order to aſcertain, by that experiment, whether their valour was as paſſive as he knew it was active. I am apt to co-incide with the evidence of Sir Eyre Coote, in this particular of his lordſhip having nothing to propoſe. For it plainly appears, from his relation of what paſſed in the former council of war, compared with what Sir Eyre ſays, and from what is confeſſed by my lord himſelf, that he was in a great puzzle at that time. And this

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is undoubtedly an ample apology for the defectiveneſs of his memory, on this memorable occaſion. In the middle, of his perplexity; he has undeſignedly, to be ſure, forgotten all that Sir Eyre Coote remembers and relates, and which does him ſuch ſignal honour as a military commander. In this ſituation, when his lordſhip had nothing to propoſe in council. What do you conceive was then done, by the officers whom he had called together to conſult upon nothing all? Why really, they ſeperated, and each returned to the place from whence he came.

His lordſhip however, who ſeems ambitious to follow the precedents of princes, immediately reſolves to imitate that of prince Prettyman in the rehearſal. For being much fatigued both in body and mind, he is ſo ſurpriſed with ſleep he cannot ſpeak a word. For Sir Eyre Coote, an eye witneſs, aſſures us, the general lay down to take a little reſt. This I am bold to aſſert, is the firſt inſtance of all the heroic deeds of war and chivalry, that ever a general went to bed in the middle of the uncertainty and confuſion of an engagement.

As far as I can recollect, not one of the Roman generals has ever ſhewn ſuch ſupreme tranquility, as to be able to ſleep in the middle of a battle, or to call a council of war, and to have nothing to propoſe. Theſe illuſtrious acts were reſerved for the Aſiatic general, Great Britain has produced. No inſtance exiſts on record of any one of the ancient and heroic chiefs, who had reached the ſublime attainment of compoſing himſelf to ſleep in the very middle of ſuch confuſion; and it is impoſſible

ble he can merit to be named in compariſon with my lord, in the exalted view of a ſleeping general. For in thoſe remote days, drums, guns and cannon were unknown. To have ſlept therefore in the middle of ſuch a paltry confuſion, as could have ariſen without theſe inſtruments of war, can include no more genius or heroiſm, than taking a nap next door to a brazier's ſhop. Whereas, his lordſhip moſt tranquilly reſigned himſelf to the embraces of ſleep in the middle of the drumming, firing, and cannonading of both armies.

This I humbly believe an inſtance of ſuch magnanimity, as is not to be parallelled in paſt tranſactions, nor to be expected in future. Sir Eyre Coote continues. In the mean while, ſome of our cannon balls having killed the elephant on which Serajah Dowlah's head general, Meer Modur rode; this officer was killed by the fall of the animal, and we having killed and wounded many of the oxen who drew the artillery, the reſt were thereby impeded; ſo that the enemy's army, from both accidents, were thrown in the greateſt confuſion. We are now happy in being able to ſhew the ſuperiority of his lordſhip's military ſucceſs to that of an officer, who is of no ſmall renown in modern hiſtory.

The great perſonage I mean, is the celebrated major Sturgeon. That renowned warrior in his attack on the gibbet of Onſlow Heath, had the misfortune to be engaged and defeated by a drove of oxen. His lordſhip had the glory to defeat not only the oxen, but one elephant alſo: which elephant ſlew the chief general of that army, and thereby it defeated the enemy. And yet to do

the major juſtice, the diſaſter of that ill fated day at Onſlow, may be aſcribed to his not being aſleep at that time; as he probably never had heard that in all engagements with oxen, in order to obtain a complete victory, it is indiſpenſably requiſite that the commander in chief be faſt aſleep, as his lordſhip was at the amazing battle of Plaſſey.

Sir Eyre Coote continues, "from thence they began to retreat, which was ſtill more difficult, from the death of the ſaid oxen, and the unwieldy carriages, or rather contrivances, on which the cannon were placed. Had his lordſhip been maſter of the butcher's company, and his army conſiſted entirely of gentlemen of the ſame trade, it is ſcarce credible they could have proved more fatal to the oxen: "In the mean while it was obſerved, that ſome troops who had occupied a riſing ground in the front, were retreating: and that a few French Europeans who had taken poſſeſſion of a tank, were likewiſe going off. Major Kilpatrick, by the advice of captain Grant, immediately ordered a body of men to march and ſeize upon their poſts:" And now the danger being over, and the battle won, it was thought high time to wake the placid general: "And Mr. Marriott was ſent to call his lordſhip, who inſtantly returned to the field and ſent ſome ſharp meſſages to major Kilpatrick for offering to act when he was aſleep without his orders." Now the major being an Iriſhman, it never came into his head that his lordſhip could give orders in his ſleep; or, as he was gone to ſleep, that he ever intended to give orders at all. On this account, he thought it his duty to take every advantage to defeat the enemy, and preſerve them-

themſelves, during the ſweet ſlumber of the commander in chief. This it ſeems was conſidered by his lordſhip as a breach of military duty; but the major had better luck than Sir Robert Fletcher: he was neither tried nor diſmiſſed the ſervice by a court-martial; as it happened to the latter, from keeping the common ſoldiers from a mutiny, and thereby the general from being put to death.

However the battle being won "his lordſhip perceiving the ſituation of the enemy, ordered captain Coote immediately to march into the intrenchments, which he entered without much oppoſition. The rout in the nabob's army was now become general, excepting a large body of horſe, which was coming ſeemingly to ſurround us, in a regular formidable manner. The artillery were turned againſt them, which diſperſed ſome and ſtopt the reſt. But after ſeveral ſignals and meſſages, this proved to be Meer Jaffier, who was in fact coming to join us." And thus the general, who had been aſleep whilſt his foes were killing, was determined to make ample amends when he was awake, by his activity in firing upon his confederates. "In this memorable battle," continues Sir Eyre Coote, "we had the misfortune to loſe three Europeans, and twenty-ſix ſeapoys killed; and five Europeans and forty ſeapoys wounded: beſides oxen and elephants, the enemy muſt have loſt above two hundred ſouls." Thus ended the famous battle of Plaſſey, in which the hair-breadth 'ſcapes and imminent points of danger, the immenſe exhibition, and ſomniferous proweſs obtained for this triumphant hero, the honourable title of Lord Coote of Plaſſey. And in this place we cannot but

but remark with aſtoniſhment, what a ſingular favourite of heaven this conſpicuous general muſt be. Near Calcutta, he and his army were almoſt miraculouſly preſerved by a fog, which the gazette denominated a victory. In the night at Plaſſey-Grove, he was accommodated with the moſt advantageous ſituation, which defended his troops from the fire of the enemy's artillery; and in his ſleep he was not only ſecured from danger, but was preſented with a victory; and I hope when lord B. ſhall have ſufficiently weighed the heroic deeds and conſummate ſkill in military matters, that were performed by the means of fogs and night, under lord Clive's auſpices, and that he defeated an army of 50.000 men, beſides camels, elephants and moſt horrible oxen, with forces conſiſting of no more than 1000 Europeans, and 2000 ſeapoys, together with the aſtoniſhing art of falling faſt aſleep in the middle of a battle; that he will no longer perſiſt in ſaying, "This nation doth not poſſeſs a general who is fit to be commander in chief."

Mr. Weſt the celebrated hiſtorical painter, who has painted his lordſhip's battles and atchievements, in order to adorn his palace at Clermont, and to deliver them with becoming glory down to the raviſhed eyes of his wondering ſucceſſors; with humble ſubmiſſion, theſe unrivalled artiſts might have imitated the celebrated painter Timanthes; who in delineating the ſacrifice of Iphigenie, having exhauſted his powers of expreſſing grief, in the countenances of thoſe friends and relations who were preſent, concealed the face of Agamemnon in his drapery: By theſe he meant to ſignify

ſignify, that the father's affection being inexpreſſible, he took this method of conveying the exceſs of it to the ſpectators. According to this idea, he would have entirely covered the battle of Calcutta, with the repreſentation of that fog, which ſo propitiouſly protected my lord and all his hoſt from the Nabob's forces; it being otherwiſe impoſſible to do juſtice to the general, and the glory of that unequalled day; at the ſame time it would have plainly pronounced in how eminent a degree the general was favoured by the place of his nativity. This method of delineating that battle, would have ſaved him a world of ſtudy in compoſition, drawing and colouring; and then he might have wrote under it, this is the battle of Calcutta: The motto to this conqueſt at Calcutta, might have been inſcribed, *Dedit victoriam nebula.* As to that of Plaſſey, it has been already allegorically deſigned, with moſt admirable propriety and happineſs of invention, near the ſcene of action, on a wall in Plaſſey houſe. In this ſublime deſign, the heaven born general was repreſented faſt aſleep on his back, in his Pallanquin, with his mouth wide open; and fortune in that poſture, in which the niceſt and moſt exalted ladies, muſt on ſome occaſion, condeſcend to place themſelves, was beneficently dropping into the mouth of her diſtinguiſhed favourite; from that part to which fame applies her poſterior trumpet, riches, titles, ribbands, and honours.

We muſt return to the ghaſtly field of battle, deeply enſanguined with the blood of oxen: Serajah Dowlah, deſerted by Meer Jaffier and his horſe; and finding as his lordſhip tells us, as a feigned

feigned reaſon for ſo few being ſlain;" that his army did not do their duty, and that no confidence was to be placed in them, flew to the city, (and for the ſake of expedition on an elephant) which he reached that night, thirty miles from the field of battle: The troops purſued the routed army about nine miles, and in the evening, Meer Jaffier ſent him word, that he and many more of the great officers, and a very conſiderable part of the army, were in expectation of his orders: "His lordſhip ſent his truſty Watts and Scrafton to wait upon him." Meer Jaffier came the next morning accompanied with his ſon, made many apologies to him for the non-performance of his agreement to join him, and ſaid his fate was in his hands." His lordſhip aſſured Meer Jaffier, that the Engliſh would moſt religiouſly perform their treaty, adviſed him to purſue Serajah Dowlah without delay, and ſaid, that he would follow with the Engliſh army.

As Meer Jaffier could not but be convinced how religiouſly his lordſhip had obſerved the treaty with Serajah Dowlah, concluded and ſworn to in the preſence of God and his Saviour; how promptly he had conſpired with him, to a revolt, to dethrone his ſovereign, and the ally of the Engliſh, who had neither evaded, nor refracted one article which it contained; it was impoſſible for him either to ſuſpect or not to place an entire confidence in the honour and religion of his lordſhip.

The defeated nabob, ſays his lordſhip, being arrived at Muxadavad, had recourſe to his treaſure, with which his palace was filled, employed himſelf

ſelf in laviſhing it among the troops, to engage them to another battle, but to no purpoſe; for he could not purchaſe their confidence.

About twelve at night, the fatal news was brought him, that Meer Jaffier was arrived in the city, cloſely followed by the Engliſh army? Betrayed by his allies, rebelled againſt by his ſubjects, and deſerted by his troops, this unhappy prince was at length reduced to flee from his capital, and ſingly ſeek an aſylum for life alone.

The Engliſh army being encamped, his lordſhip ſent Meſſrs. Watts and Walſh to congratulate Meer Jaffier on his ſucceſs, who had done nothing at all, and know the time when he ſhould enter the city. In conſequence of this, the day was fixed, and he entered that city, at the head of two hundred Europeans and ſix hundred ſeapoys.

In regard to the fate of Serajah, his lordſhip ſaid, "He had been informed, that he fled, and took ſhelter in a Faakier's houſe, whoſe noſe and ears he had cut off upon a former occaſion. That there was a brother of Meer Jaffier at Raſamere (a ſmall diſtance from the place where he took a refuge) that this Faakier ſent immediate notice to him, that he had Serajah Dowlah in his houſe, and he ſhould keep him till he could ſend him: that the nabob's brother immediately ſet out with a few attendants, and ſeized him; and that he was brought from thence to the city, and immediately put to death by Meerham, Meer Jaffier's ſon; it is ſaid, without the father's knowledge; that his lordſhip knew nothing of it, till the next day, when the nabob made him acquainted with it, and apologi-

apologiſed for his conduct, by ſaying, that he had raiſed a mutiny among his troops. And this was all his lordſhip knew of the matter." That is all that he choſe to reveal concerning this deteſtable deed.

The reports from the ſelect and ſecret committee, appointed by the houſe of commons, will throw a new light upon divers tranſactions of his lordſhip and other ſervants of the company, which we flatter ourſelves to exhibit to the general ſatisfaction of our readers.

The tranſlation of the following letter, ſent by his highneſs the nabob to the company, March the 15th, 1773, will ſhew what opinion the princes of the country entertain of the rulers of their factories, of their diviſions, and their maxims of government.

The nabob of exalted dignity, Omrah of Hindoſtan, pillar of the kingdom, lamp of the ſtate, light of the faith, the magnanimous prince, victorious in war, chief of armies, ſubahdar of Arcot and the Carnatic.

To the honourable court of directors for affairs of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Honourable.

" By your letter of the 25th of March 1772, which I had the happineſs of receiving from the governor and council of Fort St. George, the 26th of October laſt, I was pleaſed to find that you had received my letters of the 26th of March and 20th July 1771, as they would inform you of many things relative to my ſituation; yet as I find there

there are ſtill many things neceſſary to be explained to you, I have thought proper to trouble you with this letter; this I meant to have ſent by the the laſt ſhip, but I was made ſo unhappy by the diviſions and diſagreements between your ſervants, whom I could have wiſhed to reconcile, as ſuch quarrels among the members of your government affect my intereſt nearly as well as your's; therefore I wiſh for a more fortunate hour to tranſmit my beſt wiſhes to my friends; and although my endeavours to bring about a reconciliation was without effect; yet as I now have the ſatisfaction to intruſt my letter to colonel Archibald Campbell, who is a man of honour and integrity; I look upon it as a happy omen and a fore-runner of good fortune.

It makes me extremely happy that you are pleaſed with my declarations of firm friendſhip, and that the teſtimonies which I have given you of my invariable attachment to your intereſts are ſatisfactory. The confidence you have in my good faith and honourable principles gives me the greateſt joy, and your attachment which you expreſs for my perſon, family and government, of which your orders to continue the renting of the jaghier to me, and your ready acquieſcing in my holding the uninterrupted adminiſtration of juſtice within my diſtricts, are evident proofs; theſe makes me ſo happy that I want words to expreſs to you, how much I find my friendſhip increaſe to the company.

In all theſe acts of kindneſs and demonſtrations of friendſhip, I can ſee the hand-writing of my friends with whom I have been ſo intimately

connected for theſe thirty years, and whoſe interests are ſo blended with mine, that there can be no difference between us: how different, how greatly different are theſe teſtimonies of your regard, and the conduct of the ſervants, through whoſe hands the company's affairs have paſſed to me for theſe ſeveral years paſt; of theſe you muſt no doubt be acquainted from the writings which have been ſent to you, particularly by the ſhip of laſt year. Theſe have made me very unhappy, and as I am conſcious of the warmeſt friendſhip for the company, it hurts me to the laſt degree to think that your ſervants ſhould, unknown to me, endeavour to give you unfavourable ideas of my attachment to you; I therefore reſolved to write to your governor and council, requiring to know if they had written againſt me; and if they have, what they have ſaid, that I might have an opportunity of giving you and them evident proofs of my friendſhip, by expoſing the villainy of thoſe who have by ſuch falſe repreſentations endeavoured to ſow diſſenſion between you and me; but in their anſwer which I have received they do not think proper to give me any ſatisfaction on this ſubject, therefore I have thought it right to write this long letter to my beſt friends. Were it neceſſary to give proofs of my friendſhip for the company, I could inſtance every action of my life in evidence to the ſincere attachment which I have always ſhewn to their intereſts; but as I am on the ſpot, I can ſee much farther into the real motives of the words of the writings, and of the actions of your ſervants than you can do.

It

It was not a regard to your intereſt, which was the ſole cauſe in beginning the war with the Irizan in 1765, and with Heyder afterwards. It was not for your intereſt that the Myſirian war was conducted in ſuch a ſhameful manner, which the whole hiſtory of that period evinces: The peace of 1767, had not your intereſt as the only motive of its being concluded, that never could be for your intereſt to enter into ſuch ſtrict connections with Heyder Ally, and to bid open defiance to ſo great and ſo powerful a nation as the Marattas, who ſought your friendſhip, and who courted your alliance; nor could it be for your intereſt that your ſervants endeavoured to miſrepreſent me to you, or to perſuade you, to take the renting of the company's jaghire lands from me: If all theſe things are againſt the real intereſt of the company, they are ten thouſand times more againſt mine, and againſt the proſperity of my country and the happineſs of my people; for your intereſt and mine are the ſame; what were they owing to then? to the private views of a few individuals, who have enriched themſelves at the expence of your influence and of my country; for your ſervants have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages; yet in a few years they return to England with many lacks of pagodes; how can you or I account for ſuch immenſe fortunes acquired in ſo ſhort a time, without any viſible means of getting them? I hinted at theſe matters in one of my former letters, which may in a great meaſure ſerve to account for my repreſentation againſt ſome of your ſervants, and why ſome of them

them have written ſo unfavourably againſt me, you ſhall be judge between us.

I agree with you that a ſpeedy neutrality, if it can be preſerved, is certainly the ſureſt way to perpetuate peace; but if any thing ſaid or written to you from them, have induced you to believe that I am in the ſmalleſt degree diſinclined to maintain it, you are deceived, and you are impoſed upon by the artful inſinuations of others; it is my wiſh to maintain peace, and I have paid dearly for the tranquility which my country has enjoyed, amidſt the jarring intereſts of my neighbours: But I have frequently recommended proper meaſures to your ſervants, and ſuch as were dictated to me by ſound policy, and they have always rejected my council, and refuſed to follow my advice.

Your intereſts are of a firm union among yourſelves, between all your three preſidencies of Bengal, Madraſs and Bombay, by ſuch means as you may think proper to eſtabliſh; you may depend upon my alliance and my country; and you ſhould ſo arrange your country governments in Bengal, as to be able to call out the immenſe reſources of that kingdom, which under proper management might eaſily be done. There you might command the reſpect of the greateſt power in India; you could then be under no apprehenſions of their growing greatneſs, and you might then embrace their friendſhip, when with the force of the three preſidencies, and the powerful ſquadron of ſhips, which his moſt gracious Majeſty has been pleaſed to ſend into this country, for the protection of his ſubjects and allies, you

would

would have it in your power to check the progreſs of any power in India when you pleaſed.

This great power with whom your intereſts as well as mine, are naturally connected is the Marrattas, and from whom great advantages might be had, if the management of ſuch a negociation were in proper hands, the Mahrattas united in firm friendſhip with the Engliſh and the Carnatic, no force, either European or Indian, could ſhake government in Hindoſtan. But you muſt have men of integrity to be your rulers, and the commanders of your armies, of good heads, and with honeſt hearts, who will not be led from their fidelity and duty, by the temptation of wealth and in the ſearch of the acquiſition of riches: but who will ſteadily adhere to the real intereſts of the company. I ſhall then have occaſion to aſk nothing, for if your affairs are well managed, mine muſt proſper.

The war with the rajah of Tanjour, does not ſeem ſo well underſtood in England, for had I been permitted to have ſent only the Circar troops, under captain Matthews, into the Tanjour country in the month of February, 1771, when he was unprepared and unprovided with arms, ammunition, proviſion, and engineers; all which he received afterwards. The rajah might have been brought to reaſon with little expence to me, and almoſt without the loſs of a man to the company. I knew nothing of the negotiations between the rajah of Tanjour, and your preſident, nor of what nature they might be; but I know that the delay of near eight months put it in the rajah's power to prepare himſelf in ſuch a manner for his defence,

while

while your army lay inactive, that it has coſt me an immenſe ſum of money, and many lives, both to me, and to the company, and at laſt from one cauſe or other, which it would not be eaſy to explain, a peculiar accommodation was agreed to in the room, of great advantages, both to the company, and to me, as I mentioned in my letter to your governor, of the 18th of September, 1771. Your late governor, and others, can beſt account for theſe negociations, and the cauſes of ſuch delays. At this day, the rajah, by the diſpoſitions he is making, ſeems determined to take advantage of the firſt opportunity to raiſe troubles in the Carnatic, which in caſe of a war, particularly with the French, may from the vicinity of Pondicherry, be very prejudicial to your intereſt, and to mine.

The jagheer lands in my poſſeſſion, yield you a greater revenue than any one elſe could afford to give, as the renters muſt maintain themſelves out of their revenues, beſides the high preſents which they muſt give to your ſervants, and the high intereſt they are obliged to pay for money to anſwer the ſeveral kiſts (or tributes) whilſt I defray all theſe extraordinary expences out of the revenues of my country; and you will readily allow, I hope, that the ſeverity of the prince of the country is better than that of individuals. My reaſon for being ſo anxious to have that continued to me, are to prevent the diſturbances that would certainly happen between my ſubjects in thoſe diſtricts under my own direction, and thoſe in the jagheir lands, about the boundaries, water-courſes, manufactories, and other matters; and to prevent

others

others from eſtabliſhing an intereſt among your ſervants, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to that harmony which ſo happily ſubſiſts between you and me.

The ſame reaſons induced me to apply frequently to your late preſident, requeſting to have the renting of the Nigampatam circar, becauſe the lands of that circar are ſo intermixed with mine, that diſputes conſtantly happen between the ſubjects of the two governments, and which it is impoſſible to prevent: this is greatly to the prejudice both of your intereſt and mine. I therefore propoſed to give ten per cent. more than any one elſe ſhould offer for theſe lands, but my ſuit was rejected; I added, the company would do me a great favour by ſuch a mark of friendſhip, yet I was refuſed, and told that the company was diſpleaſed with me. I think, as it could not be for your intereſts, you would not have refuſed me ſuch a reaſonable indulgence: I now apply to yourſelves; conſider this matter well, and do me the kindneſs, through friendſhip, to ſend me a favourable anſwer. The company's ſmall farms are no doubt let ſo cheap, that the renters might pay their rents regularly and get rich; and alſo all the amulders (or collectors of the revenue) who had formerly rented thoſe lands under the company's ſervants, before they were granted as jaghier; yet whence happens it, that all thoſe people who have rented lands of the company, have been ruined? of this there are many proofs; and had not I paid near two lacks of pagodas to redeem property abſolutely purchaſed from the renters of the jaghier by your ſervants, all theſe people had been

been entirely ruined, and obliged to leave the country.

The hopes of improving your revenues by letting the jaghier to others are vain, and are only meant to anſwer other purpoſes. The tranſactions between the renters and others could not be ſo well known then as now, and then much more would probably go to the forming of ſeparate intereſt than now; yet you muſt not think that all my diſputes with your ſervants have been without foundation; diſputes with the company I never had, for they have always expreſſed themſelves in the moſt friendly terms to me; and no friendſhip can be ſtronger than mine has always been to them; but your wiſdom ſhould examine well, and you will then find under many ſpacious arguments, your ſervants have made you believe they were attentive to your intereſt only, when their own private views were the real ſprings of action.

The northern circars ſhould be a great object of your attention. I have no objection to your ſervants making princely fortunes, if it be your pleaſure they ſhould do ſo, provided my country and people do not ſuffer; but I am your friend, therefore I mention theſe matters; you ſhould attend to the permanency of your intereſts in that country. You know my mind already about the 10 lacks of pagodas, which I call the Myſore demand: I ſhall not therefore, through friendſhip, ſay any thing more on the ſubject. I have paid part, and I hope, by the providence of God, in time of peace and tranquility, to diſcharge the whole in the time I have ſtipulated; but I acquaint you, that I have done this out of pure

favour

favour and friendſhip for the company, that I might convince them my friendſhip is invariable, notwithſtanding the endeavours and repreſentations of my enemies.

God forbid I ſhould ever diſtruſt the company's honour, nor did I ever wiſh to invalidate any agreement made with the company; but it is the cuſtom of every durbar, to get diſcharges regularly every year for all the former debts to the day of payment; this was my reaſon of requeſting a diſcharge; and if I owe the company nothing, ſurely their honour cannot ſuffer by my aſking, nor by their granting me, a diſcharge; but my debts formerly have accumulated in ſuch a manner as I could not underſtand: The diſcharge therefore of my friends, would have been a teſtimony to my poſterity, that I had fully anſwered all demands on me by the company; and when the Myſore money ſhall be paid, is it not reconcileable to your cuſtom to grant a diſcharge? or even to do ſo now with that exception? it is with your ſervants I tranſact ſuch buſineſs here, not with the company; think of this matter well, and give me a favourable anſwer.

Although I pay the expences of ſeven battalions of ſeapoys, who are under the company's orders, they never are ſuffered to be of the ſmalleſt uſe to me; yet I have willingly agreed to keep in them my pay to oblige the company, in hopes they will give ſuch inſtructions to their ſervants, as to make them ſerviceable to the circar, and that I may have a right to adviſe their deſtination. Should a war happen in the Carnatic, which God forbid, not only three battalions of

ſeapoys ſhall be joined to the company, but my intereſt is to aſſiſt them with the whole force of my country. Were your forces properly employed, you have enough, when joined with mine, to make your name reſpectable in India; but if, after all that I pay to the company my open and avowed enemy is to be encouraged, and thoſe who are willing to be my friends ſhall be brought to threaten the Carnatic with an hoſtile invaſion on account of theſe impolitical connections of your ſervants: How do you think I am able to pay ſo much money for maintaining troops to defend my country, and yet in the day of danger I ſhall be obliged to purchaſe a peace, and to remove armies from my frontiers by other means? I refer you to the tranſactons of laſt year for an explanation of this. I have already given my anſwer to your governor and council on the ſubject, and which they have, no doubt, ſent to you for your information. I am beſt able to judge of the force which my revenues can maintain in this country, and what are neceſſary for its defence; you will forgive me, if I take the liberty to judge in this for myſelf, I have many reaſons for it; you cannot be acquainted with the immenſe ſums of money I have been obliged to pay, and by which my treaſury has been exhauſted. Were ſuch regulations made as prudence and wiſdom would direct, and were the force of the Carnatic, properly ſtationed and arranged, there is enough to give ample ſecurity againſt common occurrences, both to your poſſeſſions and mine. Give me men in whom I can confide, and who will ſuit their views to your real intereſts and mine, and I ſhall at all times be ready

to

to do every thing which ſhall appear proper and right for the mutual advantage of the company, and of the Carnatic.

I have repreſented the affair of juſtice to your ſervants here; but notwithſtanding your orders, I have ſtill been put to inconveniencies on this account; ſo much ſo, that one of my immediate ſervants has been arreſted at the gate of my durbar by your ſheriff's officer, for a ſuppoſed debt to a Frenchman, which this ſubject of France avowedly declares was contracted on account of the collection of my revenues, whilſt my country was in the hands of our mutual enemy; ſhould my friends in this manner aſſiſt my enemies againſt me? Was not the loſs I ſuſtained by the war enough? Muſt I, even now, have the happy days of peace interrupted by vexatious ſuits proſecuted by my enemies in your courts of juſtice? Are theſe the proofs of friendſhip? I cannot underſtand this; but I have made a treaty with Mr. Law, dated the 25th of March 1765, by which in all ſuch caſes as any of my ſubjects give cauſe of complaint to any ſubjects of France, the appeal is to be made to my juſtice: What then have the mayor's court to do with ſuch buſineſs? let your people enjoy the full freedom of their own laws; and let my ſubjects be judged by the cuſtoms of my country. If I, or any of my people have cauſe of complaint againſt any of the ſubjects of England; I will apply to your government for redreſs. Direct your ſervants to make their application to me in the ſame circumſtances with reſpect to my people, and I will do them juſtice; then I can remain among my friends with ſecurity, and without receiving freſh affronts to

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my dignity every day. You are my friends, and I have always truſted to you, do me the favour to regulate theſe affairs in a better manner that my mind may be at eaſe.

My ſeapoys and your's have frequently been employed on the ſame ſervice, they have often ſhared common fatigues and common dangers, yet from the evil diſpoſition of ſome, diſputes have ariſen between the troops of the circar and of the company about the rank of officers. Conſider this matter well, and give ſuch directions as may ſettle ſuch buſineſs, that the common ſervice may not ſuffer by the like differences for the future.

You may depend on the firmneſs of my attachment to you, while the ſun and moon endures; may the providence of God give you proſperity: What can I ſay more? the ſtorm that had been a long while gathering on his lordſhip's head, now threatened no leſs than the ruin of his ill-gotten fortune and reputation. He endeavoured to prevent the popular clamour and to ſtop the torrent of abuſe by a pompous enumeration of his eminent ſervices in divers letters inſerted into all the vehicles of public intelligence. The writers whom he had hired, uſed all the arts of ſophiſtry to make an apology for his lordſhip's conduct in that period, wherein the revolution in Bengal had been brought about by his lordſhip and his creatures. They called him the triumphator of the Eaſt, and the only man who had reſcued the company's affairs from utter ruin. They ſaid, that when his lordſhip returned to England in 1755, the firſt time, the court of directors ſolicited him to go out again; that in conſequence of his extraordinary merit and

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amazing ſkill in the military profeſſion, they obtained for him his majeſty's commiſſion of lieutenant-colonel, and appointed him deputy governor of Fort St. David, and to ſucceed to the government of Madras, and that before he went to his government, they ſolicited him to undertake an expedition of great importance; the intent of which was to join the Marattas at Bombay, and in conjunction with them to attack the French in the ſubah of Decan: for which he carried out three companies of the king's artillery, and four hundred of the king's troops. That when he arrived at Bombay, in beginning of the year 1756, a truce between the two nations, having prevented him to act offenſively againſt the French, his warlike ſpirit ſuggeſted that theſe troops ſhould not lie idle, and that his lordſhip laid the plan of taking the ſtrong fort of Gurrah, poſſeſſed by a piratical prince, who upon all occaſions had very much diſtreſſed the company. That although he commanded the land forces in this ſucceſsful enterprize, by virtue of his rank; he ſhared only the prize-money amounting to 150,000l. as a captain of a man of war. That Admiral Watſon thought his caſe ſo hard, that he very generouſly offered to make his ſhare equal to Sir George Pocock's; that his lordſhip thought himſelf as much obliged to him for the offer, as if he had accepted it, but that he generouſly declined it. That in his deputy-government of St. David, he gave univerſal ſatisfaction to the company and the natives. That when he was called from thence to Madraſs, on the news of the capture of Calcutta, it was long debated in council what force ſhould be ſent to retake it,

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it, and who ſhould command that expedition; that it was decided in his favour, and the wiſh of every officer that he ſhould go upon that expedition. They further added, that his lordſhip was ſent from Madras with a power independent of the governor and council of Calcutta: that he commanded in Bengal both as the king and the company's officer; that the governor and council of Madras looked at that period, on the government of Bengal as annihilated, which was revived by the ſucceſs of his army with additional ſplendor and dominion. They obſerved, that when his lordſhip received preſents from the country powers, there were no covenants exiſting, the company's ſervants were at liberty to receive them; that they were the price of his ſervices to the nation and to the company. That the company had acquired a million and half ſterling, and a revenue of near 100,000l. per annum, from the ſucceſs of their forces under his lordſhip's command at that early period; that his lordſhip had devoted himſelf entirely to the company's military ſervice, and neglected all commercial advantages; that, after having riſked his life ſo often in their ſervice, no judicious man could condemn him for having profited of the only honourable opportunity that ever offered of acquiring a fortune without prejudice to the company. That their intereſt and the honour of his country, were the principles that governed all his actions; that had he only taken the advantageous opportunities that preſented themſelves, by his lordſhip being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the cuſtom of that country he was entitled to, the jaghier itſelf,

ſelf, great as it was, would have been an object ſcarce worth his conſideration.

The evidence of lord Clive before the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, coincided exactly with this previous juſtification of his lordſhip's tranſactions. As we cannot afterwards cut the thread of this moſt important parliamentary inquiry, we ſhall ſubmit here to public inſpection, the concluſion of his lordſhip's military regulations with the ever memorable campaign of brigadier general Smith.

We have already mentioned in the ſecond volume of this work, the number of troops which his lordſhip had placed on the Bengal eſtabliſhment, immediately after the concluſion of the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, and without entering into a minute calculation of the extraordinary ſums not only incurred but injudiciouſly intailed upon the company by this unjuſtifiable ſtep, it will be ſufficient to enumerate to the ſtanding forces which conquered the moſt formidable armies, that ever were in the Bengal provinces, and to draw a compariſon between them and the preſent eſtabliſhment: this will ſhew the augmentation to have been ill-timed and unneceſſary.

Colonel Munro had eight battalions of ſeapoys at the battle of Buxar, his whole army including Europeans did not exceed eight thouſand men, who defeated the combined armies of Sujah al Dowlah and Coſſim Ally Cawn, with the fineſt train of artillery that any Aſiatic army could ever boaſt of, beſides Sujah al Dowlah had the name of being the greateſt warrior in this part of the globe, and none of the Eaſtern princes did excel Coſſim

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in the cabinet. Theſe two circumſtances added to the ſuperiority of number, might indeed have deterred any other commander from engaging with a handful of men; the nabob, vizier and his ally, who had jointly the reputation of having heads to plan and to execute; but the wonder muſt increaſe, after the brave and ſkilful colonel had baffled all the warlike meaſures of theſe two ambitious and renowned adverſaries, and diſconcerted by a ſingle overthrow all their ſchemes in the field, and evinced the futility of their councils.

Major Adams that gallant and experienced officer, whoſe death was a public loſs, had not under his command above four thouſand men, when he beat Coſſim Ally Cawn at Gurriah, forced his entrenchments at Wooden Nullah, drove him from poſt to poſt, and at laſt entirely out of the Bengal provinces, when he was obliged to ſeek for protection in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah.

If theſe armies who had conquered two principalities, could keep poſſeſſion of one of them, one ſhould naturally ſuppoſe that the ſame number of forces was ſufficient to defend and ſecure it, when confirmed to the company, by the emperor Shah Allum, whoſe right of territorial ſuperiority they had acknowledged, and whoſe indiſputable ſanction they had endeavoured to eſtabliſh; eſpecially as there were no other warlike princes in Hindoſtan, who aſpired at ſovereignty; no turbulent nobles who aimed at independence; no neighbouring princes able to ſupport an injured prince.

When his lordſhip formed the troops into brigades, he ſhould have ſaved to the company all ſuperfluous expences, according to the expreſs injunction

junction of the court of directors; but to have recourſe to the paultry expedient of reducing the pay of approved veterans in the field, who had ſignalized themſelves in the company's ſervice, and made the ineſtimable acquiſition of a moſt opulent kingdom, at the riſk of their lives, and with the certainty of impairing their conſtitution in that unſalubrious climate, was a moſt unjuſt and impolitical reformation. The court of directors were not apprized of the value of their conqueſts, otherwiſe we could not account for their approbation of ſuch an ill-judged ſcheme, as inſtead of rewarding their military ſervants, it inflicted a real puniſhment for their eminent and acknowledged ſervices. Thoſe who had no other motives but honour, reſigned their commiſſions in conſequence of this diſcouraging regulation, were greatly to be commended, as they ſhewed a proper ſpirit of reſentment to their ungrateful maſters.

It appears very evident, that twelve battalions of ſeapoys were at this juncture more than ſufficient to protect from any hoſtile attack this new commercial empire, as the number of Europeans had been of late greatly increaſed. They never had more than eight battalions in times of war and danger; theſe had been an over-match for great armies in divers engagements. Beſides theſe, additional forces might have been eaſily raiſed when neceſſity ſhould have required it, which was not the caſe, as the company had forced their vanquiſhed enemies to accept the terms of peace, which they had thought proper to preſcribe. The expences of nine battalions of ſeapoys ſhould have been ſaved by a judicious œconomy; each batta-

lion coſts the company no leſs than 1500 pounds per month, which amounts to 162,000 pounds per annum. for the pay and ſubſiſtence of nine. The pitiful expedient of depriving the officers of the batta, was a ſaving of twenty thouſand pounds per annum. at the moſt, allowing the full compliment of the officers to the advanced eſtabliſhment; this was a mere trifle productive of great diſcontents and inconveniencies, of which however his lordſhip with his uſual preſumption, made a great merit in his pompous details of the pretended abuſes which he had reformed. Had theſe nine uſeleſs battalions been never thought of, there would have been to this day a ſaving to the company of one million four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, after a deduction of two hundred thouſand pounds, for continuing the benefit of the batta to all the officers to this time. His lordſhip raiſed ſome battalions which went under the name of Purgannah ſeapoys; they were to enforce the payment of the revenues, and did in fact no other ſervice than to oppreſs and terrify the diſtreſſed natives. Mr. Verelſt his lordſhip's ſucceſſor, paid ſo little regard to the company's intereſt, that in his government the army at one time conſiſted of no leſs than thirty two battalions in profound peace, which coincided with his lordſhip's declaration, that Bengal was a military government, that is according to the noble lord and his worthy ſucceſſor's maxims; a formidable ſtanding army was kept at an enormous expence, to carry into execution the moſt nefarious acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion of theſe two matchleſs preſidents. Mr. Boulton late chairman of the Eaſt-India directors, hated the very

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name of Mr. Verelſt; he uſed to ſay, "that this gentleman had done more prejudice to the company, than all the bad ſervants they ever had put together." I think however he ought to have excepted his lordſhip.

The noble preſident iſſued out his mandates in the following remarkable terms.

1. Purſuant to repeated orders received from the honourable court of directors, *We have reſolved to embrace the preſent favourable opportunity, which the tranquility of the country affords to reduce the enormous military charges of the preſidency*; and to carry into ſtrict execution a meaſure indiſpenſible and neceſſary, if we will maintain the number of forces requiſite for the ſecurity and preſervation of the company's poſſeſſions.

2. You are accordingly hereby enjoined to acquaint all the officers under your command, that they are henceforward to expect no benefit from perquiſites of any kind, but to rely entirely on their pay, together with ſuch allowances as will hereafter be ſpecified.

3. We ſhall ever pay particular regard to merit; but the officers in general are to expect the reward of their ſervices after they have riſen to the rank of majors; it being our intention to continue to all the field-officers every advantage they enjoy at preſent.

4. You are alſo further to give notice that after the firſt day of January next, the whole batta will be ſtruck off, and the pay reduced to what it formerly was on this eſtabliſhment, and is at this time allowed to the company's troops on the Coromandel coaſt.

5. Cor-

5. Conſidering however the diſtance from the preſidency, and the unavoidable expence incurred by the officers in tranſporting liquors and other neceſſaries. We do conſent that thoſe ſtationed at Mongheer and Patna ſhall ſtill receive half batta.

6. The particulars of which you find ſtated in the annexed account, which batta they are not to regard as a matter of right, but an indulgence that muſt ſtand in lieu of all allowances for boats, &c. and it is our deſire that the ſoldiers ſtationed at the above places ſhall each receive two drams per diem.

7. We likewiſe agree as a future encouragement, and to remove thoſe difficulties, which uſually ariſe in iſſuing the pay on account of the frequent ſcarcity of Arcot rupees, that all the company's troops ſhall in future receive Sunnut inſtead of Arcot rupees, but ſhould the army or any particular detachment be employed out of the limits of the provinces, then it is out intention to make ſuch an addition to their batta as may be thought reaſonable.

8. We make an additional allowance of forty rupees per diem to the colonel, which allowance is to be enjoyed in his abſence by the field officers who ſhall command for the time being, and as a farther proof of that attention, we ſhall always pay to the eaſe and convenience of thoſe gentlemen who act in ſuperior ſtations, We conſent that field-officers commanding detachments, ſhall be allowed the batta, as the officer immediately above him, which indulgence is not by any means to extend below the rank of a major.

9. We

9. We positively direct that the pay-master shall in future disburse, not only the pay of the officers and soldiers, but of cooleys and servants of every denomination, employed by the company on account of the army, and that he also pay all bills and other charges contracted on account of the brigade, after such are duly counter-signed by the commanding officer and not before.

Statement of batta to be allowed to the officers, &c. cantoned at Mongheer and Patna.

Viz.	Sunnut Rupees.
Colonel	25
Lieutenant Colonel	20
Major	15
Captain	6
Lieutenant	4
Ensigns and lieutenant fire-workers	3
Chaplain	6
Surgeon	6
Assistant	4
Commissary	6
Judge Advocate	6
Aid de Camp	6
Interpreter	6
Volunteers	2

N. B. Only half of the above allowance was issued to the subaltern officers at Mongheer, and the whole when they were in the field upon actual service.

Thus his lordship boasted of having reduced by this little mean shift, the enormous military charges of the presidency; as we are not exactly informed of the particular time that the Pergunnah seapoys

ſeapoys were raiſed, we cannot fix the account of this accumulated expence; but if a calculation were made, it would appear that the company might have ſaved for thoſe ten years paſt, upwards of three millions, the intereſt of which ſum would have more than fully anſwered the charges of the officers batta. No ſooner had the different brigades arrived at their cantonments, and his lordſhip's train of field officers from Europe joined their reſpective detachments. That the above-mentioned orders were read by the authority, and with the advice of the right honourable preſident and gentlemen of the ſecret committee at Fort William, to the commanding officers of the different Brigades. They produced nothing but univerſal murmurs, diſcontents, and reſignations from ſeveral experienced officers, who were treated like rebels and deſerters, and puniſhed like felons.

This order was delivered out by the commanding officers of Brigades, in the manner it was ſent to them, except by colonel Smith, who choſe to ſuppreſs the greateſt part of it for particular purpoſes, which will appear in the account of his campaign.

That part which the colonel iſſued out began at No. 1, ended at 2, reſumed the order at 3, with the conjunction, and ended it at 4, with the ſignatures of Clive, William Sumner, J. Carnac, Henry Vereliſt. The colonel then added the following clauſe of his own authority, December 23, 1765.

" The colonel thinks it unneceſſary at preſent " to ſpecify the allowance mentioned in the fore- " going orders ſince the committee has been ſo " indulgent to the officers of the ſecond brigade

" as

" as to continue the double batta to thoſe actually
" on ſervice in the field, and half of that batta to
" thoſe in garriſon, whilſt the brigade is employ-
" ed out of the provinces."

We ſhall not at preſent animadvert upon the colonel's evaſion; we only beg leave to obſerve, that it would have been more becoming a commanding officer, to have acted with more candour, and informed his officers of the whole of the committee's orders, that they might the better be able to judge whether they could remain in the company's ſervice or give it up, according to the dictates of honour, and the juſtice they owed to themſelves. As this order of the committee was a notorious injury to men who could ſupport no longer the character of their honourable profeſſion, it occaſioned ſpirited remonſtrances from the ſubaltern officers of the different brigades, to the governor and council; but no regard whatever was paid to their juſt repreſentations: and it was after they had given up all hopes of redreſs, that thoſe injured gentlemen reſolved to quit a ſervice inadequate to their ſtation.

A proof that theſe diſtreſſed ſubalterns did not complain from a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and mutiny, is the opinion which Sir Robert Barker tranſmitted to his lordſhip, in anſwer to one which he had received from the noble preſident; an extract of which we ſhall inſert firſt.

From Lord Clive to Sir Robert Barker.

"I am very glad the officers have been ſo prudent as to lay aſide their intention of preſenting a memorial: I can aſſure you, there has been no memorial preſented from the other brigades on the like ſubject. It is true, the governor and council have

received

received a remonſtrance from the officers of colonel Smith's brigade, ſetting forth, the dearneſs of proviſions, and all other neceſſaries, at that great diſtance ; and we have in conſequence of its being only a temporary expence to the company, agreed to let things remain on the preſent footing, until the brigade be withdrawn from Sujah Dowlah's dominions ; but the officers are at the ſame time informed in the moſt poſitive terms, that this indulgence will ceaſe the inſtant the troops leave the Carimanaſſa. I need not repeat how poſitive and abſolute the company's orders from Europe are, about reducing the military expences to the proportion of the eſtabliſhment on the coaſt of Coromandel ; nay, even leſs, becauſe they imagine the price of proviſions is lower, and I believe you are not unacquainted, that the officers for the firſt year they ſerved in Bengal were all ſatisfied with ſingle batta ; the double batta was merely an indulgence obtained by me, and came immediately out of the nabob's pocket. One would imagine the officers would be ſatisfied with their preſent appointments, ſince they have a greater advantage in proſpect than they ever enjoyed before. (which his lordſhip means by a greater advantage in proſpect, is the military fund for diſabled officers) Add to this, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa belong to the company themſelves, and not to the nabob ; that what is now paid came immediately out of their pockets : and although the officers may plead preſcriptions from the nabob, they can ſhew no ſuch preſcriptions from the company. I may indeed aſſure you, that the committee are reſolutely determined upon carrying the company's orders into execution ; and enforcing the new regulations. &c."

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Sir Robert Barker *to the Right Hon. Lord* Clive.

"My Lord,

"Having made an examination into the officers field expences, in which I have adhered as much as poſſible to frugality and œconomy, and according to the regular prices of ſervants wages and *Mr. Moody's charge of things*, and his lordſhip's monopoliſt in regard to the officers neceſſaries, none being allowed to carry any thing to the brigade but him. I cannot well reduce the captain's monthly expences in the field to leſs than 324 rupees, and if he keeps a palanquin to 372; now his pay and batta amount to 300 rupees. In the eſtimate I have made no allowance for his cloathing, linen, purchaſe of ſtores, palanquin, ſadlery, camp furniture, &c. Suppoſing his off-reckonings to anſwer their annual expences, 300 rupees on the coaſt of Coromandel will furniſh a captain with his neceſſaries and carriage, but the conſtitution of this country is ſo much more prone to luxury and extravagance than on the coaſt, that the ſame quantity of proviſions, and the ſame method of œconomy practiſed there, cannot be carried here at the ſame expence; the very commodities uſed by the military gentlemen are increaſed thirty or forty per cent. between the Madraſs and Bengal markets; the cooleys carry one third leſs, and the ſervants, not to compare the difference between the officers ſerving without the provinces and thoſe within, is but little more than the additional charge of Mr. Moody's goods; for ſuppoſe him to ſupply every

thing for ſeven or eight per cent. the difference of batta is 100. Every officer who takes the field for a campaign, muſt carry with him thirty days ſupply, eſpecially where horſe are flying about the country, and few will carry more either with or without the provinces; the number of ſervants and their wages nearly the ſame.

(Signed) ROBERT BARKER."

The court of directors were afterwards made ſo ſenſible of the injuſtice done to their officers, that the very next year they augmented their pay.

The committee, in their orders, acknowledged that Bengal at this time was in a ſtate of perfect tranquility, without internal or external foes to diſturb the peace of the provinces; his lordſhip, therefore, had an extenſive field to diſplay his abilities as a financier, without apprehenſion of a war that might diſconcert his plan of œconomy; how far the noble preſident and his ſucceſſor made that rich and glorious acquiſition anſwer the purpoſe of poſſeſſing it, is beſt judged of from the very low ebb to which the company was ſoon reduced; had not government interfered in time, they might have been totally ruined, and after having been the ſovereigns and monopolizers of the eaſt, ſhewn by their bankruptcy, that they wanted even ſagacity to direct their mercantile affairs.

Yet theſe are the men who have been ſupported in their iniquitous ſchemes of oppreſſion and villainy by unprincipled directors, who have even attempted to juſtify ſuch acts of enormous injuſtice and

and tyranny towards their fellow ſubjects, as would diſgrace the annals of the Turkiſh empire.

In regard to the ſyſtem of his lordſhip's civil government, it was ſimple and uniform, yet chiefly conſiſted in turning every article of uſe and neceſſity into a monopoly. As a farther proof of the attention of the noble preſident and his committee, to the eaſe and convenience of military gentlemen who acted in ſuperior ſtations, his lordſhip enacted, that each field officer, according to his rank, ſhould pay his quota to a committee appointed to carry on the buſineſs of the ſole monopoly, and at the end of the year he received his ſhare of the odious taxation, even the common neceſſaries which are brought from Europe, and without which no European can ſubſiſt, were monopolized by Mr. Moody, one of his lordſhip's chief agents; his noble patron granted to him the excluſive privilege of purchaſing European commodities, and ſelling them at his own price to the different brigades; thereby many induſtrious families were deprived of all manner of ſubſiſtence, and they had no other reſource to live but to purchaſe from the ſhips of Europe goods and proviſions, which they retailed afterwards for the conſideration of a ſmall profit to the army, and to the natives up the country.

This was in particular a great hardſhip upon the ſubaltern officers, whoſe pay was not only reduced, but were even prevented to lay it out to the beſt advantage in purchaſing European articles at the cheapeſt rate, ſince, by the ſordid knavery of monopolizers, callous to all humane feelings, the neceſſaries of life were greatly enhanced.

Having

Having taken a retroſpect of Lord Clive's regulations, we ſhall, according to our engagements to the public, introduce here the campaign of another Aſiatic commander, whoſe deſigns ſeemed to have been impenetrable, as he acted neither offenſively nor defenſively during all the time he remained on the field of inaction. It would be illiberal to reflect on the obſcurity of his origin, ſince, like the famous Mareſchal Shneyder, who from a taylor, was raiſed by his merit to the command of the Pruſſian armies—Brigadier General Richard Smith, ſcorning the drudgeries of a nauſeous ſhop, was the artificer of his own fortune. This modern hero went to India in the humble capacity of a clerk to the captain of a merchant ſhip: *a quelque choſe malheur eſt bon*, ſays the French proverb, effectively. Dick, having been caſt on the Coromandel coaſt near Madraſs, and found Neptune inconſolable, applied to propitious Mars, and tried his luck upon another element. The gentlemen of the preſidency commiſerating this friendleſs, diſtreſſed youth, implored in his behalf the governor's generoſity, who appointed him a cadet on this eſtabliſhment, like ſeveral renowned generals, who never had any opportunity to ſhew their military talents when at the heads of ſmall parties and detachments; he would have remained unnoticed, if fortune had not advanced him to the firſt command of the Eaſt-India Company; for as we wiſh the general, like Cæſar, had written his Commentaries, as he might better account for the true motives of his conduct; the firſt and only time he commanded upon the coaſt, no doubt humanity, which is the characteriſtic of a true hero, ſuggeſted to him the

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deſign of abandoning the ſiege of a place, which he was directed to ſtorm; and had not Major Horne, who was then Captain Lieutenant of the artillery, bluntly offered to bombard the place, and to aſſume the command, ſhould the colonel deſiſt from the enterprize; the garriſon and inhabitants had remained without fear or moleſtation.

As we are better informed of his memorable campaign of 1765, we are able to ſatisfy the curioſity of the public, in regard to the atchievements of this extraordinary man; Colonel Smith was ſtationed with his brigade at Allahabad, until Sujah al Dowlah had finally fulfilled the treaty, and at the ſame time covered with his ſhield, the Emperor Shaw Allum, as the tutelar genius of Hindoſtan.

On Friday the 25th of October, the following orders were iſſued.

"The 20th battalion of ſeapoys are to relieve all the guards of the firſt battalion to-morrow morning—two twelve pounders, and two ſix pounders, are to proceed to camp to morrow.

"The general to beat at half an hour paſt three, and the aſſembly at four o'clock, on Sunday morning, when the regiment and the firſt battalion of ſeapoys are to march to camp, to celebrate the anniverſary of the Emperor of Hindoſtan's coronation; each man to be furniſhed with ſix rounds of exerciſing cartridges."

After this compliment had been paid to a pageant of Royalty, the regiment and the firſt battalion of ſeapoys were ordered to parade at five o'clock on Sunday evening, in order to march back to Allahabad.

And

And the next day it was in orders:

"The preſent that was given yeſterday by the king, is to be diſtributed between the artillery and the regiment, according to their ſeveral ſtations," though this donation beſtowed on the private men was inconſiderable, yet the general ſhould have forbidden his ſoldiers to receive it, as this nominal king had ſcarce, from his rich and extenſive dominions, a revenue ſufficient to defray the expences of his wretched houſhold, and of a few troops, which were called his body guards. The Court of Directors were ſo ſenſible of this, that they ordered Colonel Smith to return to the king two lacks of rupees, which he had accepted from his majeſty. However the general, who like the Roman proconſul, was reſolved to return home with Aſiatic ſplendour and opulence, found means to have the ſum ſecured to him through another channel.

He did not return to the garriſon, but encamped with two battalions, and two guns, at Subahdan Cawn's gardens, and appointed Lieutenant Colonel Peach to the command of Allahabad during his abſence; the colonel, after having remained here a little time, took a ſurvey of the Korah province, which belonged to the king, who accompanied the general through part of his progreſs. This may be called a civil excurſion, as military operations were out of the queſtion; the general having pecuniary ſpeculations, which will appear hereafter. His warlike exploits upon the coaſt of Coromandel having never been recorded, we muſt ſuppoſe this neglect aroſe for want of an able pen, on the Madraſs eſtabliſhment, to which he belonged originally.

In

In order to make amends for this omiſſion, we ſhall entitle this jaunt a campaign, leſt our hero ſhould lie under the imputation of quitting the army, without having ſhewn himſelf a formidable commander, as he really was ſole and undiſturbed maſter of the field.

Though there were no diſturbances in the Korah province, nor apprehenſions from a foreign enemy, yet the colonel, in his high wiſdom, wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Peach at Allahabad, to ſend him an enforcement. Accordingly it was in orders the 15th of December, 1765.

" The detachment of artillery, with two ſix pounders, with their tumbrels of amunition, and 30,000 muſket cartridges, and the firſt battalion of ſeapoys, are to march to-morrow morning, on the firing of a gun, to proceed to join the army (viz. the colonel with his two battalions) at the camp at Paulgong."

The colonel thought probably it was beneath his dignity to travel with leſs attendants, and with this additional force, he was able to compel his majeſty's ſubjects to pay him his revenues, if they refuſed to ſubmit to his authority.

Having been informed by Lieutenant Colonel Peach, that the deſertion of the troops in garriſon was frequent, the colonel ſent the following order.

" *Camp near Futtapoor, 25th December* 1765.

" The colonel is extremely concerned to hear, from the report of Lieutenant Colonel Peach, of ſeveral ſoldiers of the regiment having ſo far forgot what they owe to themſelves and to their country, as to deſert their colours.

" The

"The colonel flattered himſelf that his admonition and exhortation would have had ſufficient weight with every man in the regiment to have kept him ſteady in his duty, but he has now ſome reaſon to think, that ſoldiers when in liquor, are deluded away by black people; for he cannot ſuppoſe a European, who had the uſe of his ſenſes, would renounce his freedom to be the *ſlave* of men whom he deſpiſes.

Though we muſt commend the colonel in making choice of ſuch words in the diction of his orders, as to ſtrike more forcibly the minds of thoſe to whom he addreſſes himſelf, and in calling them to a ſenſe of their duty from principles of honour; yet as he has made uſe of the word *ſlave*, I beg leave to make a few reflections thereupon.

There are no Aſiatics whatever, Moors or Gentoos, kept by their princes or their maſters in ſuch an abjection and ſervility, as thoſe who are under the power of the imperious and mercileſs head ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company. Too many Britiſh ſubjects have lately experienced this inconteſtible truth, to the univerſal indignation of our legiſlature, and the aſtoniſhment of the nation.

We have ſeen ſuch ſcenes of cruelty and oppreſſion exhibited as ſhock human nature. Gentlemen obliged to ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, to prevent their being forcibly dragged by black ſoldiers, on board of boats to be tranſported to Europe; yet this precaution could not protect them from the implacable and unprovoked reſentment of theſe petty tyrants; as they could not ſeize on their bodies without breaking open doors they

placed

placed ſoldiers on all the avenues to their houſes. The following is his lordſhip's order to the officer who was ſent after Meſſieurs Robertſon and Duffield. "Contenting yourſelves with placing guards in ſuch a manner that they, Thomas Francis Robertſon, and Captain Vernon Duffield, cannot poſſibly eſcape; nor are you to ſuffer any perſon, or perſons whatſoever, to go in, or come out, or allow proviſions and liquors, or other ſupplies of any kind, to be conveyed to them, without my expreſs orders."

They had ſhut themſelves up in their apartments; the ſoldiers took up their quarters in the other part of the houſe; when they could hold out no longer for want of food, they were obliged to open their doors, and without being allowed to capitulate, delivered up their bodies to the mercy of their virulent perſecutors. One gentleman's houſe was broke into in the night time, himſelf laid violent hands upon, when in bed with his wife, tore from her arms, dragged through the ſtreets, immediately put on board of a ſloop, and ſent down the river. Several Europeans who uſed to get a comfortable ſubſiſtance, by trading through the country like the natives; and gentlemen, free merchants who had been ſettled for many years paſt, even without the company's territories, were all ordered to Calcutta, and there immured in loathſome dungeons; an order having been iſſued out, that none ſhould preſume to go above ten miles from the place without the governor's leave. If this is liberty, the Chriſtian ſlaves in the ſtates of Barbary, can juſtly call themſelves free, in compariſon with thoſe who have incurred the diſ-

pleaſure of the principal company's ſervants in India.

Theſe are ſome parts of his lordſhip's boaſted regulations; his ſucceſſor, Mr. Verelſt, more timid than his predeceſſor, from whom however he had imbibed the ſame arbitrary meaſures of government, ſeldom ventured on ſuch open acts of violence; but his malice and treachery were perhaps no leſs fatal to thoſe, whom he was reſolved to deſtroy. To prevent any application to the laws of this country for redreſs, and that no witneſſes ſhould appear againſt him in the ſupreme court of Juſtice, he ordered thoſe he had devoted to perdition, to be confined one or two hundred miles from Calcutta. He cauſed two gentlemen of unblemiſhed honour, to be immured three hundred miles from the ſeat of his preſidency, in a loanſome fortreſs, during five months; at the expiration of which, theſe injured and ill-fated officers were tranſported in a boat to Calcutta, and kept on the river three days and three nights, during the times of the Barrs, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, without ſhelter or aſſiſtance. They were then confined in a diſmal dungeon, in New Fort William, under double guards, where they were refuſed the common neceſſaries to ſupport nature: and to compleat their diſaſters, when theſe famiſhed gentlemen were endeavouring (through an attorney) to have their caſe repreſented to the Juſtices of the Peace of Calcutta, they were ſuddenly ſeized in the night time, put on board of an old leaky ſloop, and ſent down the river as a ſacrifice to the winds and the waves. The captain having refuſed to make a priſon of his ſhip, they were

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brought back with the melancholy proſpect of being ſhut up a ſecond time in Fort William; but the ſpirited behaviour of a military gentleman, who ſcorned to be the inſtrument of the governor's relentleſs cruelty, at laſt prevailed on him to ſet them free, upon their parole not to leave Calcutta. Indeed they might well rely upon their honour after the doctor had given them over, and when they were expected every moment to give up the ghoſt.

Under the ſame man's tyrannical government many good ſoldiers, who had ſerved the company faithfully, during the five years ſtipulated at the time they enliſted, were confined to New Fort William for three or four months, on frivolous pretences; ſome becauſe they begged to be ſent to their native country, after having ſerved their time, others for juſt complaints of their woes.

Theſe are indiſputable facts, from which it is manifeſt, that the inferior ſervants of the Engliſh company are the greateſt ſlaves in India; and the colonel knows that a ſoldier who deſerts, muſt change his mode of ſervitude for the better.

After ſo many inſtances of the moſt illegal and arbitrary proceedings, one ſhould be inclined to ſuppoſe that the Engliſh rulers in India, are either ignorant of our conſtitution, or flatter themſelves to perſecute and oppreſs their fellow ſubjects with impunity, at ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of Empire. It ſeems as if they had interpreted the ſpirit of our laws to be ſuch, as to afford redreſs and protection to none, but the ſubjects who actually reſide in Great Britain; precluding from this benefit all thoſe who are ſettled in the Company's territories.

ries. Otherwiſe they could have never carried ſo far their tyrannical and nefarious meaſures againſt the liberty, and property of their fellow ſubjects. In vain they endeavoured to conceal from the public their iniquitous deeds, or to prevent the injured from obtaining juſtice from our ſuperior courts, by purchaſing ſeats in parliament, and with their ill gotten riches, endeavouring to bribe and corrupt law and equity; the time is happily come that no members of the legiſlature will ſit in the ſenate with theſe Eaſtern depredators, and unanimouſly agree to detect, expoſe, and puniſh by ignominious expulſions from that houſe, compoſed of the people's repreſentatives, theſe Aſiatic robbers, whoſe plan was to enſlave the conſtituents whom they had bought; as for our tribunals, ſome of them will ſoon find, that they cannot protect for ever, an ignominious verdict, a juſt puniſhment of their crimes and iniquities.

Indeed the intricacy and delays of our laws, have given them too much encouragement to think ſo. Many oppreſſed individuals rather than to bring an action againſt ſuch powerful opponents, in feeding rapacious lawyers, thought it more conſiſtent with prudence, and the preſervation of their little property they had left them, to exhibit the liſt of their woes, and their ſufferings by dint of enormous fees, which might be better applied for their ſubſiſtance, eſpecially as the law's delays are almoſt equal to a denial of juſtice.

The two gallant officers whom I have mentioned, after ſo many repeated injuries, expected from our laws the ſatisfaction they could not obtain from the lawleſs mayor's court at Calcultta. They have gone

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almoſt through every court of law in hopes of redreſs, and after five years chicanery and procraſtination, the court of Chancery, that palladium of equity, thought proper to grant an injunction to ſtop proceedings, until witneſſes were examined in the Eaſt Indies; the gentlemen defendants having pleaded a juſtification, though the court of King's Bench and Common Pleas were the only judges in this caſe, it was referred to the cognizance of another tribunal, in order to diſcourage the plaintiff from further proceedings; and by this artful contrivance of their oppreſſors, the two great judges, who preſide at the court above mentioned, with equal dignity and reputation, aſſiſted by a jury, were reputed incompetent judges of a matter, which is of their reſort; and the evidence which appeared at the trial, though indiſputable, declared inſufficient; whether a commiſſion ſhould have been granted or not, for the examination of witneſſes, we refer this deciſion to the act of Habeas Corpus, which expreſly ſays, that no injunction ſhall be granted but in the court were the cauſe is tried; the title of this act is to prevent impriſonment in perſons beyond ſea; this act is an addition to Magna Charta.

By the great charter, care was taken of the liberties of the ſubjects of England; we had no extra marine territories, but the French provinces that had devolved to the kings of the Norman race by inter-marriage or inheritance, and they were governed by their own laws. Our plantations, and extra marine territories, were by the Habeas Corpus act made liable to the laws of England, as founded on the great charter, which act ſubjected

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Ireland to the ſaid charter. This charter was only a confirmation of the common law, and no new inſtitution, ſee lord Coke the mirror of juſtice and others.

Therefore the common law extends to every part of the globe, where the Britiſh power is erected, crimes therefore againſt general liberty are puniſhable if committed in India, in the ſame manner as if ſuch miſdemeanours had been done in England.

An action for an aſſault and falſe impriſonment, ſhould on no account whatever be ſcreened from the cognizance of proper tribunals, by ſuch an injunction, eſpecially when it has been brought to that ſtage, that the death of the defendant as witneſſes, or even of the plaintiff himſelf, ſhould not prevent his heirs at law from reaping any advantage which they might derive from the merits of his caſe. Otherwiſe a woman (for inſtance) who has lived in affluence in India with her huſband, after ſeeing him ſued by an arbitrary governor and council, and confined for no crime whatever, his goods and effects plundered; and after endeavouring in vain for ſix or ſeven years to get redreſs, when on the point to have the ſtate of his caſe enquired into by his peers, the court of Chancery may interfere, and grant an injunction with a probability of its being made perpetual. Her injured huſband may die ſoon after, and with him his damages would be loſt,—for an aſſault and falſe impriſonment being perſonal, though he might have loſt all his property, yet his heirs have no redreſs; the widow with five or ſix children may be left friendleſs and deſtitute, and her family reduced

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to beggary on account of the delays cauſed by ſuch an injunction. This does not ſeem conſonant with the proceedings of a court of equity.

We hope the reader will excuſe this digreſſion in favour of the oppreſſed, and the injured.

Colonel Smith, whoſe mighty and important concerns could not permit him to enter into the particulars of his officers circumſtances, and whoſe ſpeculations did coincide with the ſyſtem of monopoly eſtabliſhed by his lordſhip, thought it conſiſtent with his lofty ideas of a commander in chief, to have his officers make that brilliant appearance, which was a ſort of homage paid to his exalted ſtation. Inſtead of allowing them time to have their regimentals and camp neceſſaries ſent up by their friends at Calcutta, at the uſual price they were obliged to purchaſe them from his lordſhip's agent, at anextravagant rate, in conſequence of the following order given out the 4th of February, 1766.

" As many boats with neceſſaries are daily expec-
" ted at Allahabad from Calcutta, the colonel par-
" ticularly recommended it to all the officers of the
" brigade, who have not yet been able to provide
" their complete regimentals, to furniſh themſelves
" without delay, as it is probable the brigade may
" be reviewed early in April, the colonel expects
" every officer to appear at the review in his com-
" plete regimentals."

The ſecond brigade was cantoned in a foreign prince's dominions, three hundred miles farther up the country, than they were uſed to be ſtationed, which occaſioned every European neceſſary to be advanced at leaſt 50 per cent. beſides, their Balta

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had not only been reduced, but they were paid in rupees of an inferiour kind by the colonel, who like the great duke of Marlborough, with *great military virtues*, had ſuffered that ſordid vice, called avarice to preponderate in his *noble ſoul*.

The provident colonel had taken poſſeſſion of Sujah al Dowlah's mint at Banares, and proved his great ſkill in metallurgy, by recoining a new money, the immenſe profit of which enabled him to do honour to his maſters, as the opulent repreſentative of a company of merchants, ſovereigns of the eaſt. Theſe adulterated rupees were for the moſt part iſſued out for the payment of the troops under his command. By this means the colonel found an eaſy way of diſpoſing of upwards of one hundred thouſand ſmelt rupees every month, as will appear by his orders of the 9th of February.

"As the paymaſter has by miſtake, paid the troops of the garriſon for the preſent month, in Surat inſtead of Vizier rupees, the commanding officers of companies are requeſted to return to the paymaſter the difference between the Surat and the Vizier rupees, as the troops are to continue to be payed in the ſame ſpecie as uſual."

The colonel continued his progreſs through the Korah province, with the ſplendid retinue of an Aſiatic potentate. But finding he could no longer with any degree of decency leave the command of his brigade, which he wiſhed not to join until the rains forced him into winter quarters in April, revealed as an undoubted intelligence what he had ſeen in a dream, twenty thouſand Marahttahs ready to invade the province of Korah. Though all the colonel's army have empeached his veracity in this inſtance,

inſtance, and condemned him for having propagated this illuſion, I think him highly juſtifiable in every reſpect. If he thought this a ſupernatural warning, he acted like an able and experienced general, to leave nothing to fortune, and to be guarded againſt any poſſible ſurprize; and if he deceived them by prodigy, he made, like Numa Pompilius and other great men of Greece and Rome, with the intervention of auguries and viſions, the credulity of mankind ſubſervient to his private deſigns.

Before we proceed in the narration of the Colonel's ſkilful marches and counter-marches, it is proper to diſcloſe to our readers his ſagacity, penetration and judgment, for ſuppreſſing that part of the committee orders which he could not reconcile with his extenſive projects. Like a good general, wiſhing to keep ſomething in reſerve, he thought it was impolitical to acquaint his officers, that the country was in perfect tranquility; they all knew this, and a confirmation authenticated by Lord Clive and his committee, might have cauſed exclamation in the military diſcipline, commonly the conſequence of ſupineneſs and ſecurity; by this imaginary danger, he kept the troops in readineſs upon any emergency; and though the pretended invaſion of the Mharattas into the Korah province could not intimidate officers of ſkill and experience in his army, who had ſeen Mharattas in reality, yet he had foreſeen that occurrences might happen which were likely to turn to his advantage; the event juſtified his fore-knowledge.

As the people in London are fond of ſhews, the general, who has never courted enough po-

pularity, may ingratiate himſelf into the favour of the public, in giving them a grand ſpectacle, a body of Mharattas horſe marching down from Guallar, and afterwards flying, till they deſcend from the clouds to leap over the Mharattah ditch within a mile of Calcutta; the whole to conclude with a grand conflagration of this ſeat of the Bengal preſidency. Thoſe who are fond of whatever is marvellous, will find this no more impoſſible than a body of Venetian horſe marching over the Alps to attack the India-Houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, there being as great a diſtance between the two places. We cannot otherwiſe account for the ſuppreſſion of the fourth paragraph, than the Colonel's tender concern for his officers happineſs, in not anticipating the evil hour when their pay was to be reduced; as the apprehenſion of a diſaſter is commonly worſe than the very misfortune itſelf.

Had he inſerted the fifth paragraph, he could not have paid his officers the compliment, "that the committee had been ſo indulgent to the officers of the ſecond brigade, as to continue the double battalion," becauſe by the fifth, the committee gave the officers at Mougheer half batta, "on account of the unavoidable expence incurred by the officers in tranſporting liquors and other neceſſaries. Now this being the caſe, and his brigade ſtationed at double the diſtance of the place from which they were to be ſupplied with theſe neceſſaries, it is but a natural conſequence of their pay being increaſed in proportion.

The ſeventh paragraph explains itſelf; the troops are ordered to be paid in Surata rupees, ſuperior in value to thoſe of Arcot three per cent;

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the committee aſſigns as a reaſon for this alteration, "a farther encouragement to the officers, and on account of the frequent ſcarcity of Arcot rupees." The troops under Colonel Smith were paid in viſier rupees of the Colonel's own coining, about thirteen per cent. in value leſs than the Surot's. This was a farther diſcouragement to the officers of his brigade.

Another hardſhip the officers felt from receiving theſe rupees, was, that they did not paſs current in Bengal; the people, therefore, who purchaſed neceſſaries for the army, raiſed their goods above the price, which they meant to ſell them in proportion to what they knew they muſt loſe by their vizier rupees.

Some moroſe and ill-natured writers would make an injurious compariſon betwixt our hero and Major Sturgeon, in regard to his marches, and his diſpoſitions for encountering an ideal enemy; allowing ſome parity, we ſhall not debaſe our modern warrior by a ſimile, which might hurt his pride, and leſſen his conſequence.

At laſt, our general with four battalions of ſeapoys, ſailed down not before, but on one ſide of Siragpoor. As the grand military operations of the maſters of the art of war deſerve to be recorded for the inſtruction of thoſe deſtined to command armies, we ſhall give a particular account of the Colonel's conſummate knowledge in techics and caſtrametation, and ſhew, after his example, to our American generals, how to defend a paſs at fifty-ſeven miles diſtance of it.

Before we proceed to give a deſcription of the Colonel's encampment, it is neceſſary to point out the

the ſituation of Siragpoor. It has once been a place of conſiderable note, and is ſtill one of the moſt flouriſhing towns in the province of Korah. It is pleaſantly ſituated upon the banks of the Ganges, about one hundred and four miles N. W. and by N. of Allahabad, about one hundred and ten miles W. S. W. of Oude, and about fifty-ſeven miles E. and an half N. of Kalpee, which ſtands on the banks of the Jumna, which river empties itſelf into the Ganges at Allahabad. The Colonel encamped his four battalions about one mile and a quarter to the S. W. of the town; to the right the ground was rather higher than that which we poſſeſſed; it went with an eaſy declivity to the left, till it ended in a hollow overgrown with ſhrubs and ſmall woods. About two or three hundred yards in front was a hollow way that ran the whole length of our encampment; to the left, the other ſide of this hollow, the ground was higher than that we occupied, on which there was a ſmall village, about a mile W. and ſix N. of our encampment—Here the Colonel propoſed waiting for twenty thouſand Mharatta horſe, which no one ever had the leaſt information of but himſelf, and to keep up a military appearance on the hoſtile invaſion, which the colonel had denounced againſt the province of Korah, he ſhewed his knowledge of fortifications was equal to his ſcience of the techies, in building a ſquare fort to the left of his camp, among ſome trees, which ſupplied the want of baſtions, and in ſerving as ſhelter from the torrid ſun, might perſuade it was a deſigned ambuſcade for the enemy.

While

While the colonel was carrying on what he called his lines at Siragpoor, Sujah al Dowlah ſhewed that he was an unbeliever, for he never went to the ſouthern frontiers of his dominions, which by the colonel's account the twenty thouſand Mharattas were to enter. Sujah al Dowlah knew that there was no Mharattah army, at leaſt within two hundred miles of the borders of his territories, and theſe pillagers were within their own diſtricts; though the colonel was as well informed on this ſubject as the Nabob, he might, as a good Chriſtian, believe miracles, which an infidel could not reconcile with his faith; ſo little regard did the vizier pay to this report, that inſtead of marching to the ſouth-eaſt to defend his dominions, he went north eaſt to Bhaaſey, and having taken poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, and ſettled thoſe parts of the country, he turned towards the ſouth-eaſt to Chuprah, and paid a viſit to Lord Clive, his reſtorer and benefactor.

Colonel Smith, never forgetful of his high rank and dignity, played the Nabob with all the ſtately grandeur of theſe eaſtern princes; he reviewed his troops from the houdar of his elephant, and not to be behind them in Aſiatic voluptuouſneſs and ſenſuality, he gave himſelf up to the enjoyment of looſe deſires in an elegant ſeraglio or zeripana, they indulging the paſſion of heroes in the arms of favourite concubines, after the toils and fatigues of the field; if he had not the chaſtity of Scipio, he rivalled Alexander in his promiſcuous amours. While the colonel was ſhewing himſelf an excellent practitioner in eaſtern polygamy, a circumſtance happened which diſcloſed his deſpotic meaſures,

which

which no doubt he had adopted after the example of ſome of his predeceſſors in military command. As hiſtorian, my partiality and admiration of the colonel's warlike atchievements, cannot influence me to paſs unnoticed his conduct, highly culpable towards Mr. Virtue, a much injured officer. The caſe of this gentleman is but little known to the public, and though the rancorous illiberal pen of Mr. Strachey, Lord Clive's Secretary, Mr. Virtue, in conſequence of the reduction of the officers pay, when on the field, called batta, wrote a letter to the colonel the ſixth of May, as ſeveral others had done, requeſting leave to reſign his commiſſion; and if the colonel did not think proper to grant his requeſt immediately, he profeſſed that eſteem for the ſervice, and that reſpect for his commanding officer, as ſhould induce him to wait till the end of the month.

In conſequence of this application, the colonel iſſued out a general order greatly injurious and diſgraceful to officers zealous of their honour; which inſult they reſented with a becoming ſpirit, in a letter addreſſed to him, deſiring it might be forwarded to the preſident and council, that no miſrepreſentation might prejudice men who had ſerved with zeal and fidelity, in their opinion.

The colonel, highly incenſed at this juſt expoſtulation, not only confirmed his former decrees, but ordered moſt of the officers, who had requeſted leave to reſign, to Calcutta.

Mr. Virtue, whoſe high notions of honour were different from thoſe of his commanding officer, waited on him the 8th of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and as the colonel, in one of his

his orders, had declared that " The ſervices of his officers were by no means deſirable; Mr. Virtue therefore requeſted leave to reſign his commiſſion immediately; upon which an altercation paſſed between the colonel and him, in reſpect to his intended reſignation, which the colonel peremptorily refuſed to accept; Mr. Virtue replied, that he could not with honour ſerve under ſuch orders; that indeed he had informed (by letter) the colonel of his intention to reſign at the end of the month, but as the only anſwer which the colonel had given to that propoſal was in a public order, which reflected upon his honour. This Mr. Virtue acquainted the colonel was the reaſon of his reſigning now, ſince he did not chuſe to alter his orders; and after laying down his commiſſion on the colonel's table, told him that he ſhould leave the encampment that evening, aſking him if he had any commands to Calcutta.—" No, none at all," anſwered the colonel.

Mr. Virtue returned to his tent immediately after this, and ordered all his baggage to be packed up inſtantly ready for a march. He then ordered his ſervant to go to Lieutenant Colonel Peach's tent, the commandant of the lines, to know when he could wait on him, and acquaint him with his intentions to leave the camp. His ſervant brought him word that Mr. Peach was aſleep. Mr. Virtue ordered him to return to the colonel's tent, and when it was late in the evening he deſired to be immediately admitted into his preſence. Mr. Virtue was impatient to leave the army, and this was only a compliment he wiſhed to pay to the lieutenant colonel, as commandant

of

of the lines; when Mr. Virtue obſerved his ſervant coming towards him, he went to meet him, and finding the colonel was up, walked towards his tent; Mr. Peach perceiving him, immediately mounted his horſe, which was ready ſaddled at the door, and rode off to the rear that Mr. Virtue ſhould have no opportunity to ſpeak to him. Mr. Virtue returned to his tent after this diſappointment, and whilſt he was walking before it with ſome gentlemen, Colonel Smith, mounted on an elephant, and Lieutenant Colonel Peach, with other officers on horſeback, paſſed by cloſe to his tent. Mr. Virtue ſaluted the colonel, and the other officers in the ſame reſpectful manner as uſual, and endeavoured to ſpeak to Lieutenant Colonel Peach, which he perceiving, briſkly rode up on the oppoſite ſide of Colonel's Smith's elephant; when Mr. Virtue obſerved he ſo induſtriouſly avoided being near him, he immediately called for his horſe, and in full view of the troops who were paraded for roll-calling, rode out between the two left hand battalions of the line, in ſight of both the colonels, who were within leſs than one hundred yards of him. Mr. Virtue, after travelling about two miles, halted his people, returned back to the camp, and ſupped with ſome of his friends, who were ordered to Calcutta, and proceeded the ſame night with him.

When Mr. Virtue arrived at Allahabad on the 14th, he immediately wrote a letter to Major Smith, who commanded in the Fort, acquainting him of his arrival, and that he would have done himſelf the pleaſure of waiting on him, if he was not much indiſpoſed, but that he would take

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the earlieſt opportunity of returning him thanks for the civilities he had received of him, and deſired to know his commands for Calcutta. In anſwer to this letter, Mr. Virtue was honoured with a viſit from Major Smith's adjutant, who informed him, that he had orders from the major to put him in arreſt, on which he informed the adjutant that he was no military man, and ſhould therefore obey no order of that kind; the adjutant replied, that he apprehended if Mr. Virtue perſiſted in that reſolution he would be taken up by a guard. Mr. Virtue's anſwer was, that he could not oppoſe force to force; but as he was a free-born Britiſh ſubject, he doubted not but he ſhould find relief in the laws of his country for all acts of violence and oppreſſion, which Major Smith might think proper to exerciſe towards him—He had then a copy of an arreſt in writing delivered to him, and ſigned by the adjutant. This occaſioned Mr. Virtue to write again to Major Smith, to acquaint him that he was no ſoldier, nor did he think himſelf ſubject to his commands, therefore could not obey them, and concluding with the ſame words he had ſpoke to the adjutant. Mr. Virtue, after this, remained three or four days at Allahabad, without further moleſtation, and then proceeded publickly down the river to Chunargur, and after paying his compliments to Major Gallier, the commanding officer, continued his journey to Banares and Patna. On Mr. Virtue's arrival at Bankipoor, he was laid hold of by a party of ſeapoys, who carried him to Lieutenant Fullarton; this gentleman went with him to Colonel Sir Robert Barker, the commanding officer; Sir Robert, who

ſcarce deigned to look at Mr. Virtue, aſked him if he conſidered himſelf in the ſervice. Upon his anſwering in the negative, Sir Robert ordered Mr. Fullarton to confine Mr. Virtue in Chalcey Tomb, which was done in a moſt ſevere and ignominious manner; he was ſome time confined to a bad apartment which admitted the rain; the unhealthy ſituation in which he was placed, brought on diſorders which he was doomed to ſuffer, without the aſſiſtance of a doctor; and he was long confined before he knew what he was confined for, or upon what principles he was detained. What a diſagreeable ſituation Mr. Virtue muſt have been in, when informed that Lord Clive had ſworn he would blow him from a gun or ſhoot him, and the leaſt he was to expect was death of ſome ſort. Theſe declarations before a trial, were moſt infamous; but theſe were the times when honeſt ſpirited men, who wiſhed well to their employers, were, under various pretences, cruelly oppreſſed with all the aggravations of outrage, and contumely.

It was not until the fifteenth of July that Mr. Virtue was brought before a military court, under guards, without any previous notice. After the Judge Advocate (Captain Thomas Pearſon) had acquainted him of the charges againſt him. Mr. Virtue deſired the court would inform him, "whether it was not cuſtomary by the laws of the realm, to give a priſoner timely notice to prepare himſelf for trial."

The Judge Advocate thereupon made anſwer, that he had acquainted the priſoner, by a letter dated the twenty-eighth of June laſt, that it was the Right Honourable the Commander in Chief's pleaſure,

pleaſure, that he ſhould be tried as ſoon as members could be aſſembled for that purpoſe.

Mr. Virtue then obſerved to the court, that he had always declined appearing before any military court, being no military man; but ſince they had forcibly brought him before them ſo unprepared, he begged leave to retire a few minutes, which requeſt on repetition was granted; but before he retired, he mentioned to the court, that Colonel Sir Robert Barker was among the number of witneſſes in the liſt; he gave to the Judge Advocate, from Chalcey Tomb, and was ſurprized to find him ſitting to judge him—Mr. Virtue was ſilenced by the Judge Advocate, who informed him that Colonel Sir Robert Barker had that peculiar privilege of being both witneſs and judge.

When Mr. Virtue returned to the bar of the court-martial, he proteſted againſt the authority and juriſdiction of the court, read the ſame to the court, after which he laid the proteſt down upon the table. The court was then cleared, and after debating upon it about half an hour, Mr. Virtue was again called in, and the preſident informed him that the court had rejected his proteſt, and every part thereof, and that they would immediately proceed to the examination of witneſſes for the king, which they accordingly did; and after completing the evidence in ſupport of the charge againſt the priſoner, the court deſired Mr. Virtue to prepare himſelf for his defence againſt eight o'clock the next day. The court then adjourned till then, and he was remanded back to priſon.

The court on Wedneſday the ſixteenth met according to adjournment, and Mr. Virtue being brought

brought before them by a guard as on the preceding day, was desired to make his defence; whereupon he again offered his protest against the jurisdiction of the court, and was again told that his protest had been already rejected, and that the court still did reject it, and therefore wished him to make his defence; but Mr. Virtue refused to plead before a court whose authority and jurisdiction he never could acknowledge. The court finding Mr. Virtue firm in his resolution of not pleading, required the Judge Advocate to endeavour to get new evidence against him, acknowledging that the charge against Mr. Virtue had hitherto been but weakly supported, by the depositions already taken. They then adjourned till next day; they met and adjourned from day to day, from the sixteenth of July to the twelfth of August following, when they met, and Mr. Virtue was brought again before them as on the foregoing days; the Judge Advocate being required to produce his fresh evidence against Mr. Virtue, made answer that he could produce no witness to prove that Mr. Virtue had received pay for the *month of May*, but that he had persons ready to attest upon oath, that Mr. Virtue had, in the protest which he read to the court, acknowledged that he had received 62 rupees in the month of May last; but there were some of the members who had honesty enough to reject so vile a proposal, and declared, that as they had unanimously rejected his said protest, and every part thereof, they could not think of picking out any particular part of it to bring in evidence against him, when they at the same time refused him the benefit of every part that tended to do him service; and therefore desired the Judge Advocate

vocate (if he had no evidence to produce) to close the profecution upon the evidence already given. Whereupon Captain Pearſon, the Judge Advocate, proceeded to ſum up the evidence; the manner in which he did it being ſo ſingular, we beg leave to give it at length in his own words. It gives a juſt idea of the times of his Lordſhip's government, and what his dependants were capable of doing—we ſhall throw a few reflections upon the manner of the Judge Advocate's ſummoning up the evidence, and will ſhew that no ſuch concluſion could juſtly be drawn therefrom.

The Judge Advocate then obſerved to the court.

1. That it had appeared by the evidence of Colonel Smith, that the priſoner received his expreſs orders not to leave the camp without his permiſſion. That the priſoner had diſobeyed theſe orders and deſerted his charge, had appeared by the evidence of Lieutenant Colonel Peach; who, on the 9th of May in the morning, reported him to Colonel Smith, abſent from camp; and that in conſequence of this report, orders had been iſſued out to arreſt him, which were produced in court. That the priſoner himſelf had not thought proper to deny thoſe facts, but had proteſted againſt the authority of the court, alledging that he was no officer in the ſervice, and therefore not ſubject to military laws.

2. That the court, after having heard the priſoner, read the ſaid proteſt, rejected it, conſidering the priſoner as ſubject to their juriſdiction.

3. That it had appeared that the priſoner, in his letter to Colonel Smith of the 6th of May, agreed

to

to ſerve to the end of the ſaid month, which is a ſufficient contract for the limitted time.

4. That he conſidered himſelf as an officer, bearing the rank of Lieutenant, had appeared by his ſigning himſelf as ſuch in a letter of the 7th of May, addreſſed to Colonel Smith, by the major part of the Korah detachment.

5. That he was muſtered as a Lieutenant in the ſervice, on the firſt of May, had appeared by the evidence of Mr. Cobham, commiſſary.

6. That his pay for May laſt had been drawn by the commanding officer of the battalion he belonged to, in the cuſtomary manner of the ſervice, had appeared by the evidence of Captain Harper.

7. That the priſoner himſelf in his proteſt had acknowledged, he received ſixty two rupees in the month of May, had appeared by the ſaid proteſt.

8. the Judge Advocate further obſerved to the court, that ſixty-two rupees has always been, and now is, the cuſtomary pay of a Lieutenant of Infantry in the ſervice, for every month containing thirty-one days; and that all other allowances of Batta, &c. are only extraordinary and occaſional.

9. Likewiſe that in caſes of the ſame nature with the preſent, when a priſoner acknowledges he has received his pay, it is cuſtomary to admit it, as ſufficient evidence thereof.

10. And as the court rejected the priſoner's proteſt, and conſidered themſelves as legally authoriſed to condemn or acquit him; the Judge Advocate concluded with obſerving, that the crimes the priſoner is charged with, had been clearly proved by ſufficient evidence.

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The court being cleared, and the preſident and members having taken into mature conſideration, the evidence againſt the priſoner, they were of opinion that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, viz. diſobedience of orders and deſertion. The firſt of which being a breach of the 1ſt article of the 5th ſection of the articles of war, they have ſentenced him, and he is hereby ſentenced to be caſhiered with infamy, by having a ſword and eſpontoon broke over his head, and a ſaſh cut in pieces before him, at the head of all the troops cantooned at Bankipoor.

We ſhall not trouble the public with the particulars of what the witneſſes depoſed; the Judge Advocate called on them to ſupport the charge againſt Mr. Virtue; we ſhall confine ourſelves entirely to his ſummoning up the evidence, and charge to the court, which appears to have been done with all the acrimony of party, and inſolence of office. We ſhall be very ſuccinct in our obſervations, but that we may be properly underſtood, we have numbered the paragraphs.

1ſt. It muſt be noticed, that Mr. Virtue was ordered into confinement at the inſtance of Colonel Smith; another evidence is therefore wanting, to confirm what the colonel may advance, as proof againſt Mr. Virtue. What Colonel Peach depoſed was nothing againſt Mr. Virtue, it was a natural conſequence; if he was not preſent he muſt be abſent; how is this made diſobedience of orders; it cannot by the accuſer Colonel Smith telling him ſo.

It is a known fact, that Mr. Virtue left the detachment, and went off with all his things, in preſence of both the colonels, who were in front of the

the troops drawn up for roll-calling. Colonel Smith was in the houder of his elephant, and Lieutenant Colonel Peach on horſeback, who remained ſome time, and looked at Mr. Virtue, with his ſervants, who were between fifteen or twenty in number. May not we now aſk Colonel Smith why he did not immediately ſend for Mr. Virtue, if he looked upon him as an officer, to know the cauſe of this, and enquire the reaſon why he was not with his battalion upon the parade.

Why did not Colonel Smith, if he thought Mr. Virtue had deſerted, ſend a poſitive order to Major Smith who commanded in Allahabad Fort, to make him a priſoner on his arrival there. All that Major Smith did, was, that when Mr. Virtue ſent him a letter, acquainting him of his arrival, and that he would do himſelf the pleaſure of waiting on him to receive his commands at Calcutta—he ſent his adjutant to put him under an arreſt, but on Mr. Virtue's making anſwer that he could not obey it, as he was no officer, he received no more meſſages from the major, though he remained ſome days after at Allahabad; though it appears that Major Smith was examined, the Judge Advocate has taken no notice in ſummoning up the evidence of what he ſaid. Why did not the colonel when he ſent an order to Mr. Sage, reſident at Banares, to ſeize on Captain Parker, and make him a priſoner, alſo ſend him word to lay hold of Mr. Virtue who was likewiſe there. And why did not Sir Robert Barker when Mr. Virtue was brought to him by Lieutenant Fullarton, immediately order him into confinement, without aſking him the queſtion, or if he conſidered himſelf

ſelf as in the ſervice. It plainly appears by this manner of acting, they endeavoured to draw Mr. Virtue into an error, by which they might take an advantage of him; but finding him too much upon his guard, they were determined at all events to confine him with the hopes of finding out a crime againſt him afterwards.

If this was not the caſe, why was he not informed when made a priſoner, of the crime he was guilty of. The judge advocate acknowledges that he did not inform him, until the 28th of June, and Mr. Virtue was made a priſoner on the 7th.

2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th. Mr. Virtue's writing a letter to colonel Smith, telling him that he would reſign at the end of the month, ſurely could not be binding upon him, when the colonel afterwards told him in public orders, that he did not deſire his ſervices; Mr. Virtue did on the 7th conſider himſelf an officer, (conſequently muſt have been muſtered) but it was only until he knew from the colonel whether or not his offer of ſervice was honourably accepted of; when he found, that not to be the caſe, he inſiſted upon reſigning immediately, and did accordingly reſign to him his commiſſion.

6th and 7th. Mr. Virtue's pay being drawn in the cuſtomary manner, does by no means affect him, nor is it proof againſt him in ſaying, That he acknowledged to have received ſixty-two rupees in the month of May by his proteſt, when the proteſt and every part of it was rejected by the court. This is moſt invidious and unfair.

8th and 9th. Though ſixty-two rupees has always been, and now is, the cuſtomary pay of a

lieutenant: yet it was a fact alſo, that every lieutenant in the ſeapoys, which Mr. Virtue was a lieutenant of, has monthly allowance which exactly correſponds with their pay, whether the month contains 28, 29, 30, or 31 days; how then could the judge-advocate determine whether it was this allowance or his pay Mr. Virtue mentioned in his proteſt? Mr. Virtue did not acknowledge having received his pay, but to have received ſixty-two rupees by his proteſt.

10th. We will leave to the impartial public to judge, how far the court, was right in rejecting Mr. Virtue's proteſt and proceeding in the manner they did. We beg leave entirely to differ in opinion with the judge advocate for the crimes; "Diſobedience of orders and deſertion are not in the ſmalleſt degree proved by any evidence which appears upon an examination of his own charge."

A very worthy member of that court-martial, lieutenant colonel Graham, who was then a captain, has often been heard to ſay, that he would give five hundred guineas to be legally releaſed from his oath of ſecrecy. When the ſentence of the court-martial was communicated to Mr. Virtue by the brigade major, it was accompanied by the following letter from himſelf; as it conveys the feelings of every honeſt man who were on the ſpot, and his friends in particular, I beg leave to inſert it.

"It is with infinite concern, I muſt be the tranſmitter by order of colonel Sir Robert Barker, of orders of this nature to you. How much ſuch a ſentence, on ſuch a man, as I ever knew you to be, affects me; I am equally conſcious how ſenſibly

bly every friend feels for you. I could, though ſuch a ſubject cannot fail to move with concern, to damp with melancholy every line, write much to try to comfort you in your ſituation! But I am forced abruptly, through uneaſineſs, to break off, with aſſuring you, &c.

John Jones."

To ſum up the abſurd and illegal proceedings of this court-Martial, more odious than thoſe of the ſtar-chamber; their incompetency is proved from the following circumſtances of Mr. Virtue's caſe.

He was called in the 16th of July, before the court martial, and deſired the ſecond time of his appearance, to make out his defence; on his denying the legality of the court, and proteſting againſt it, the court adjourned for want of ſufficient evidence, and deſired the judge-advocate to endeavour to get new evidence. They adjourned from time to time until the 12th of Auguſt, and then the judge-advocate informed the court that he cannot produce any witneſs to prove that Mr. Virtue received pay for the month of May, and yet in ſumming up the evidence, he would make it appear that Mr. Virtue's own proteſt, which the court had refuſed to admit, was good evidence againſt him; becauſe ſixty-two rupees happened to be mentioned in it, which he conſtrued into pay, though they were no ſuch words in the proteſt, and becauſe a lieutenant's pay is ſixty-two rupees when the month conſiſt of thirty-one days.

This lawleſs court, found upon the 12th of Auguſt, without having examined one witneſs, ſufficient proofs to find Mr. Virtue guilty of the crime laid

laid to his charge, and to diſgrace him by a moſt iniquitous and degrading ſentence.

When Mr. Vertue arrived in England, he brought an action againſt lord Clive for falſe impriſonment, in full aſſurance of receiving ſome ſatisfaction, though not adequate to the injury for the cruel treatment he had received: but his lordſhip's character had not yet been explored to the public, and his good fortune ſupported, yet his drooping trophies.

The 20,000 Marattas, whom Colonel Smith had imagined ready to invade the king's domains, which lay beyond our ally Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, did ſo infatuate the jury with an opinion of Mr. Virtue's guilt, for having reſigned his commiſſion at the time of this ideal danger, that they brought in a verdict for his lordſhip.

So uncertain law is, that what is reputed legal to day may be declared the contrary to-morrow and a poor oppreſſed man, who expects from the laws of his country a redreſs for the injuries done him by opulent upſtarts almoſt ſure, after the expenſive delays, and the diſguſtful chicanery of ſophiſtical pleadings, to ſtarve with a juſt cauſe. Captain Parker brought an action at the ſame time for the ſame daring violation of perſonal liberty and loſt his cauſe, cruſhed by the weight of riches and intereſt. Indeed, he was through the intereſt of his friends reſtored to the company's ſervice, though not to his proper ſtanding; however, the court of directors have ſince done him and themſelves the juſtice of reſtoring him to his rank in their ſervice. Surely, Mr. Virtue is equally intitled by his faithful ſervices whilſt he bore their com-

commiſſion to the ſame act of juſtice and humanity, could they diveſt themſelves of party connections puſilanimous apprehenſions, and ſhameful prejudices.

Give me leave, gentlemen of the directors to addreſs you on this important ſubject, and to aſk you ſome queſtions relative to the moſt flagrant acts of oppreſſion and ſordid knavery committed by your chief ſervants, for fifteen years paſt.

Have not your predeceſſors in the direction adopted the invariable maxim, to ſide with the opulent, the tyranical and the rapacious, and to withdraw their protection from the injured, the oppreſſed, and the guiltleſs?

Have they ever made an examplary puniſhment of men in high ſtation, in civil or military capacity, who have been the inſtigators of princes cruelly murdered and unjuſtly depoſed; of the abettors of the moſt nefarious deeds; frauds, plunders and monopolies; of men who have diſgraced the Britiſh name, and the company of merchants they repreſent; of villains who have diveſted, famiſhed, perſecuted and ruined nations and individuals, Indian and Britiſh ſubjects? if ſome have been ſuſpended for a time, they have been reſtored to their former ſtations or their command. Have they ever eſpouſed the cauſe of their faithful inferior ſervants, and generouſly contributed to their ſupport, when forced to ſeek for redreſs, at an enormous expence in Weſtminſter-hall? Had they found in Leaden-hall-ſtreet the juſtice and ſatisfaction, which they ought to expect and to demand, government had never interfered in your interior adminiſtration, all the branches which were corrupt and vicious, the records

records of parliament which I ſhall open in the following numbers, exhibit ſuch horrid ſcenes of wickedneſs and inquity as will be an indelible diſgrace upon ſome of your preſidents, generals and their employers.

The time is happily come that every attempt of a chartered company to enſlave their fellow ſubjects will not paſs unpuniſhed, if the American colonies are likely to withdraw their allegiance from the beſt of ſovereigns, for ſome acts of parliaments calculated to check their mutinous ſpirit and reſtrain their trade. What have you to expect from ſovereigns and nations? you have ſuffered to be reduced to the moſt ignonimous vaſſalage, and the moſt intolerable thraldom from your countrymen, whom you have ungenerouſly forſaken, in their complicated diſaſters and calamities. Should the ſame ſpirit of perſecution and injuſtice, influence the council of Bengal, I hope there is virtue enough in ſome of your ſervants injured, to obtain redreſs againſt ungrateful maſters, in their own courage and reſolution. Your commerce and your empire may be irretrievably loſt in the convulſive pangs of rage and deſpair.

Having began the colonel's campaign ludicrouſly, it is not in our power to ſupport the irony to the concluſion.

The colonel no longer able to keep up the idea of a Maratta army invading the Korah province, and the rains ſetting in, he thought proper on the 30th of May to addreſs his lordſhip in the following words.

" The Maratta's having made another march to the N. W. towards Guallar, it leaves me at liberty

to

to act without apprehenſion. By the 4th I intend to break up this camp and ſend the troops with all expedition to Allahabad."

This only and ever memorable Bengal campaign of the colonel's being now at an end, it remains to diſpel the cloud of falſe rumours which warped the judgments of many, who were not acquainted with the circumſtances and ſecret cauſe for propagating theſe reports. We will even prove that the colonel himſelf was ſenſible there was no juſt cauſe of apprehenſion of the Maratta's invading the company's Ally's dominions, or he was unworthy of the ſtation he held.

If the colonel really imagined the Maratta's were reſolved to invade the Korah province, ſhould he not rather have encamped the troops under his command on the banks of the Sumna, where they were ſuppoſed to enter, inſtead of the Ganges which left the enemy a ſpace of fifty or ſixty miles of country to devaſt, before they could reach his encampment; and what end could anſwer the throwing up of lines? it was only putting the company to a great expence for no purpoſe whatever; and they were even ſo fooliſhly ill contrived, that had the enemy made their appearance, he muſt have left them and gone into Surajapoor, otherwiſe that city muſt have been plundered in ſight of his army; but a ſtronger reaſon than this would have forced him to it; he could not have ſupplied his little army even with the common neceſſaries of life; and he had fixed his ſheep-pen, for it cannot be called with propriety by any other name at ſo great a diſtance from the river:

ver: that he would have been obliged to quit it, merely for want of water.

When the ſecond brigade was ſtationed at Allahabad, it was only until the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah ſhould make good the ſixth article of the treaty of the 16th of Auguſt, 1765. The 10th article ſays, "As ſoon as this treaty is executed, the Engliſh "forces ſhall be withdrawn from the dominions "of his highneſs, excepting ſuch as may be ne- "ceſſary for the garriſon of Chunar, or for the "defence and protection of the king in the city of "Allahabad, if his majeſty ſhould require a force "for that purpoſe."

The company being in alliance with the emperors of Hindoſtan, and the nabob Sujah al Dowlah; by treaty had agreed to protect the former in the city of Allahabad, and to aſſiſt the latter in the field againſt his enemies when required of him. If our troops then remained in Allahabad until the vizir nabob Sujah al Dowlah required their aſſiſtance, they anſwered, the intention of their being there; as the vizir nabob, on whom the Maratta's were ſuppoſed to have a demand for paſt ſervices, declared he had no intelligence but from the rumours propagated by colonel Smith, to which he gave no credit, he took no more precaution to guard the frontiers of his dominions than if no ſuch report had ever been ſpread; is not this ſelf-ſufficient evidence to prove that no Maratta's ever intended coming into the Korah province? but allow for one moment that the colonel alone thought otherwiſe. How can he reconcile this with his duty to the company whoſe ſervant he was; or to their ally, whom he ſerved

as

as a general.--A faithful diſintereſted ſervant would only have acted in concert with Sujah al Dowlah when called on by that prince, and not ſtepped forth the champion, to waſte the blood and treaſure of his employers to defend his dominions, when Sujah al Dowlah had an army ſufficient to oppoſe them, laying inactive in the centre of his dominions. As an officer, the colonel ought to have marched with his four battalions to the banks of the Jumna, and there to have oppoſed the Maratta's coming into the country, inſtead of throwing up entrenchments at Surajpoor, the whole breadth of the Korah province, from the place the enemy were ſuppoſed to enter at.

It was rumoured about that fifty thouſand French were encamped at Bologne ready to be tranſported to Haſtings, and that this was the place, and no other they could land at. What ſhould be done to an Engliſh general, who inſtead of marching to Haſtings went and encamped his army at Liverpool, and beſides put the nation to twenty or thirty thouſand pounds expence for entrenchments?

The colonel in his letter of the 30th of May to his lordſhip mentions, that the Maratta's had made another march to the N. W. towards Guallar: they did ſo, but they were marching in their own country, making a little tower, as the colonel was doing, in the Korah province: they were even beyond the mountain which lay about thirty or forty coſs ſouth of Kalpee. Before the colonel made ſuch an uproar, he ought to have allowed the poor Maratta's to have been out of their own country, and to the northward of theſe mountains,

marching in full gallop E. N. E. and then even then Sujah al Dowlah ſhould have been preſent.

Colonel Smith has the honour of being the firſt Britiſh commander who ever entrenched himſelf from a few Maratta horſe; there was never a ſubaltern in his detachment but would have beat them with half the troops he had under his command. Why did he not call in the aſſiſtance of the reſt of his brigades from Allahabad, if he was afraid to face them in the field rather than throw up entrenchments, when two-thirds of his brigades were laying inactive at Allahabad.

Colonel Richard Smith having obtained the command of the army at Allahabad, and with that the direction of the king Shah Allum, had an extenſive field open to him; in which he ſoon diſplayed his abilities, not only as a great general, but as a conſummate politician, farmer, financier and merchant. He took into his ſervice one Kellaram who had been a ſervant of Setabroy, afterwards made nabob of Patna, in whoſe name he took from the king a grant of the ſubahſhip of Allahabad, which for near three years he held at the rate of ſeven lacks per annum, and thereby made an immenſe annual profit. He alſo obtained from Sujah al Dowlah, a grant of excluſively making all the ſaltpetre produced in that prince's dominions in the name of one Iſhmaelbeg. In the name of the oſtenſible miniſter Moneer al Dowlah, he procured the payment of the 26 lacks allowed yearly by the company to the king, and in the name of one Vincatram, afterwards banyan to Sir Robert Barker, he alſo obtained the mint at Allahabad, while he ſtationed his brother captain John Smith at Banaras, who

who likewiſe held the mint at that city in the name of his banyan Calichurn. The uſe of theſe mints was extremely convenient, for when there was too much buſineſs at Allahabad, the colonel uſed to conſign his treaſure to his brother at Banaras, where, and at Allahabad the rupees ſent up from Bahar, as well for the payment of the king's ſtipend as for the payment of the troops, were ſweated into viziery rupees, and iſſued at a rate which yielded a profit of eighteen per cent. to the concerned.

This buſineſs was too profitable to be eaſily abandoned, and therefore under a pretence that Sujah al Dowlah had encreaſed his army with hoſtile intentions: the company's troops conſiſting of nine battalions of ſeapoys, one regiment and two battalions of Europeans, with two companies of artillery and three troops of cavalry were detained at Allahabad, upon double batta. But the poor king was not left to the management of his own officers; for when they wanted their accounts to be ſettled, they conſtantly applied to our colonel, who for preſenting an arzee to the king, and getting him to ſign it for the paſſing of an account of fifty lacks, is ſaid to have received ſix lacks as a reward from Moneer al Dowlah, who on account of the obſtructions he met with in his buſineſs, has been known on this occaſion to have ſaid to an Engliſh gentleman,

Meyne Ianwarko, bhooka dekhkerke, tookrah phenk dea hong:

"I ſaw the animal was hungry, and I threw him "a morſel."

The

The miſunderſtanding with Sujah al Dowlah was fomented until the poor governor of Calcutta was frightened or cajoled to conſent in November 1768, to a deputation of our colonel with Mr. John Cartier and Mr. Claud Ruſſel, which coſt the company four lacks of rupees, and on which Smith and Ruſſel obtained very conſiderable preſents from Sujah Dowlah.

By theſe means our colonel ſoon encreaſed his mite, and returned to his native country, where his wealth enabled him to corrupt the Engliſh burgeſſes of Hindon, but he found virtue enough in the Britiſh ſenate, to deprive him of a ſeat acquired by notorious bribery and the inglorious arts of his deſpicable agents.

As the nation called aloud for a parliamentary inquiry, in regard to the tranſactions of the Eaſt India company's ſervants, on which the noble lord inveſted with the ſupreme civil and military command in Bengal had had ſo powerful an influence, we ſhall have the ſatisfaction of exhibiting to the public theſe rapacious and tyrannical culprits, ſeveral of which were members of the legiſlature, that they could neither biaſs nor corrupt, by their ill-gotten riches in their true colours at the bar of the ſelect and ſecret committees of this auguſt aſſembly. If their iniquitous deeds have paſſed unpuniſhed, their names will ſtand upon record noted with diſgrace and infamy.

Narra-

Narrative of the defection of the officers of the army in Bengal in the year 1766, taken from the report of the committee of ſecrecy appointed by the Houſe of Commons to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt India company.

The mutinous defection of the officers of the army in Bengal, in the year 1766, is an event ſcarcely to be paralleled in the hiſtory of any age or country. In order to give as diſtinct an account as poſſible of ſo confuſed a ſcene, it may be neceſſary to explain the circumſtance which is alledged to have given riſe to the combination, although the eye of an impartial obſerver on the ſpot could not fail to diſcover, that the licentious diſpoſition of the company's civil ſervants not only coincided with, but actually infected the military branch.

It is many years ſince the Eaſt India company, in conſideration of the extraordinary expences and inconveniencies unavoidably incurred the campaigns in that country, indulged the officers in their ſervice with a certain allowance per diem, excluſive of their pay; this allowance originally went and ſtill goes by the name of "Batta," or field expences.

When the Engliſh forces took the field, in conjunction with the nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, after the battle of Plaſſey, our military expences were, agreeably to treaty, defrayed by his excellency; who likewiſe thought proper to encreaſe the emoluments of the officers, by granting them a double allowance, which of courſe obtained the name of

of "double Batta;" and lord Clive at that time, in order that the gentlemen ſhould not too confidently depend upon the continuance of this new bounty, repreſented to them, that it was merely a temporary indulgence of the nabob, an indulgence not enjoyed by our officers in any other part of India, and could only continue to thoſe in Bengal during his excellency's pleaſure. The expence of this double batta however, though firſt introduced and paid by Jaffier Ally Cawn, was, in proceſs of time, thrown upon the company; who, unwilling to adopt ſuch an expenſive precedent, notwithſtanding the revenues of ſeveral diſtricts of lands had been aſſigned over by the nabob to the company for defraying the charges of the army, repeatedly iſſued orders, in the moſt poſitive terms, that it ſhould be aboliſhed; but the ſituation of their military and political affairs in Bengal, was ſo frequently critical, and the ſuperior ſervants in the civil branch ſo averſe, perhaps through want of reſolution, to abridge the officers of any emolument; that a remonſtrance from the army never failed to convince the governor and council of the impropriety of ſuch a reſolution. It muſt be remembered, that the accompliſhing this buſineſs was one of the principal points of reformation preſſed upon lord Clive in the year 1764; when, at the requeſt of a general court of proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock, he was prevailed upon to accept once more the government of Bengal. With reſolution and diſintereſtedneſs he ſteadily purſued, from the hour of his arrival at Calcutta, ſuch meaſures as ſeemed beſt calculated to effect the great purpoſes of his appointment; and the tran-

tranquility of the country being the neceſſary ground-work of all other permanent regulations; he concluded as ſoon as poſſible, a general peace throughout the provinces, upon terms both honourable and advantageous to the company.

The war being ended, it was judged proper to withdraw our forces from the dominions of our new Ally, Sujah Dowlah, and to quarter them at ſuch places, and in ſuch diviſions, as would not only be moſt conducive to the health of the ſoldiers, but moſt convenient for furniſhing detachments, which from time to time, might be required to aſſiſt in the collection of the revenues, or to march upon other accidental ſervices. The whole army was regimented, agreeably to the plan propoſed by lord Clive, and approved of by the company, before his lordſhip embarked for India. It was alſo divided into three brigades, each brigade conſiſting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, ſix battalions of ſeapoys (or black infantry) and one troop of black cavalry, with field officers in proportion.

The firſt brigade was ordered to garriſon Monghyr (300 miles from Calcutta) under the command of lieutenant colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, in the abſence of brigadier general Carnac, who had been called down to the precedency, to take his ſeat at the ſelect committee, of which the court of directors had appointed him a member. The third brigade, commanded by colonel Sir Robert Baker, was cantoned at Bankipore near Patna, about 100 miles beyond Monghyr, and the ſecond brigade, commanded by colonel Smith, was

ſtationed

ſtationed at Allahabad, 200 miles beyond Patna, by the earneſt deſire of the king and Sujah al Dowlah, in order to ſecure them againſt the invaſion of the Moratta's, until they ſhould have ſufficiently recruited their own army, which the length of the late war had almoſt entirely deſtroyed.

The reſtoration of peace and public tranquility, together with the eſtabliſhment of a more perfect ſyſtem of military diſcipline and ſubordination than could have been effected before the regimenting of the troops, afforded a favourable opportunity for carrying into execution the company's inſtructions relative to the reduction of the batta.

Orders were accordingly iſſued by the ſelect committee to the following effect, viz. That on the 1ſt of January, 1766, the double batta ſhould ceaſe, excepting with the ſecond brigade, which, on account of the high price of proviſions at Allahabad, and the expence of procuring the neceſſary Europeans articles at ſo great a diſtance from the preſidency, were to be allowed the double batta in the field, and the old original ſingle batta in cantonments, or in garriſon, untill they ſhould be recalled within the provinces; for the ſame reaſons half ſingle battas was to be continued to the troops at Patna and Monghyr; but the reſt of the army, not engaged in actual ſervice, we mean, the detachments at the preſidency, at ſubordinate factories, and Coromandel, that is to ſay, they were to have no batta at all.

The officers had been too ſucceſsful in their remonſtrances againſt former orders of the like nature, to omit prefering them upon this occa-

ſion. The poſitive orders of the company were, however, urged to them in reply; nor did lord Clive and the ſelect committee flatter them with any hopes that the indulgence of double batta would be prolonged beyond the time limited: the reduction accordingly took place on the firſt day of the new year; the gentlemen of the army, with whatever reluctance, thought proper for the preſent to acquieſce; and all complaint ſeemed to have entirely ſubſided. But this was only an appearance of ſubmiſſion; private meetings and conſultations were held upon the ſubject in each brigade; ſecret committees were formed under the denomination of free-maſons lodges, and means of obtaining redreſs deviſed, which ſeemed to have no other alternative than a mutiny of the whole army, conſiſting of 20,000 men, and, in conſequence, the extirpation of the Engliſh company in Bengal. They had no idea, perhaps, that things could come to ſuch extremities; their meaſures were calculated merely for compelling the adminiſtration to a renewal of the batta, by a general reſignation of their commiſſions, without regarding the probable conſequences to themſelves, or to the public; and unanimity, they doubted not, would enſure ſucceſs. This alarming combination was originally planned in December 1765, or January 1766, at Monghyr, and from thence propoſed to the captains and ſubalterns of the ſecond and third brigades. The firſt letter that appears to have been written, was to the officers in garriſon at Allahabad, who immediately had a meeting to debate the matter; at this meeting a letter was alſo produced from the third brigade;

but before they determined upon an anſwer to either, they wrote to a detachment of their own brigade, encamped at Korah; who conſidering themſelves upon actual ſervice, replied, That they could not in honour immediately join in the defection; but that, after the expiration of their preſent ſervice, they would not continue to hold their commiſſions to the prejudice of thoſe gentlemen who ſhould reſign.

The officers of the ſame corps at Allahabad, being on duty in a frontier garriſon, concluded they were as much upon actual ſervice as thoſe employed in the field, and therefore concurred with the reſolution of the Korah detachment. Such was the purport of the anſwer ſent to the third brigade, with a requeſt that it might be communicated to by them to the firſt. This ſtate of neutrality, however, was not long preſerved: the ſentiments of honour in the ſecond brigade ſoon gave way to the general infatuation, as if the number of actors ſufficiently juſtified the action; and theſe gentlemen who in the beginning were reſtrained by ſome degree of principle, grew in the end as outrageous, and went even greater lengths than either of the other two brigades.

In each brigade a committee of correſpondence was appointed, with full authority to anſwer all letters that might come from their aſſociates, and to agree to, as well as to propoſe, ſuch meaſures as they ſhould think proper. Near two hundred commiſſions of captains and ſubalterns were in a ſhort time collected, and lodged in the hands of the adjutants and quarter-maſters, in order to be delivered to the commanding officers of the reſpective

pective brigades, on the firſt of June, which was the day fixed upon for the general reſignation; though, to give a colour of moderation to their proceedings, they determined to make an offer of their ſervices as volunteers till the 15th of the ſame month, by which time they imagined a final anſwer might be obtained from lord Clive, or the ſelect committee, in their favour.

All officers upon detached parties, of whom there were a conſiderable number, in various and diſtant parts of the country, were written to by their particular friends, or in the name of the brigade to which they belonged, earneſtly preſſing them to enter into the combination, and not to divulge the affair. With regard to thoſe who were preſent doing duty with their reſpective brigades, they bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſecrecy, and kept it ſo ſtrictly, that even the field officers upon the ſpot entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of what was going forward: they were likewiſe ſworn to preſerve, even at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any officer whom the rigour of the court-martial might condemn to death. But in order as far as poſſible, to avoid incurring the penalties of mutiny and deſertion, they determined to refuſe their uſual advance of pay for the month of June

As an expedient to prevent any recantation in this conſpiracy, each officer bound himſelf in a penalty bond of five hundred pounds not to reaccept his commiſſion, if offered, except upon condition of having the allowance of double batta reſtored: and, to obviate the misfortune of Lord Clive's proving ſo reſolute as to reject their demands,

mands, a ſubſcription was raiſed among themſelves, each ſubſcribing in proportion to his rank: beſides which, a conſiderable ſum is ſaid to have been contributed privately by gentlemen in the civil ſervice, in aid of the military cauſe. Theſe monies, together with ſuch forfeitures of the five hundred pounds penalty above mentioned as might be incurred and levied, were to eſtabliſh a fund for the maintainance of thoſe who ſtood in need of it, in caſe all the commiſſions ſhould be accepted, or of thoſe who might be pointed out as principals, and diſmiſſed the ſervice, even though the army in general ſhould be requeſted to reſume their commiſſions, and the double batta be re-eſtabliſhed upon its former footing, by the ſame means the expences of their voyage to Europe were to be defrayed, and commiſſions of equal rank purchaſed in the king's regiments; to which they never ſuppoſed their mode of relinquiſhing the company's ſervice would prove the leaſt obſtruction. The plot was thus ripening, when a circumſtance occurred, which could not but inſpire them with additional hopes of ſucceſs, ſince it ſeemed to prognoſticate for the ſervice of at leaſt one entire brigade, about the very ſame time fixed upon for the general reſignation. The circumſtance alluded to, was the ſudden approach of between fifty and ſixty thouſand Morattoes towards the frontiers of Korah, about one hundred and ſixty miles from Allahabad; at all events, however, it was judged expedient, that Colonel Smith, with the whole of the ſecond brigade (except the European regiment, which it was not thought proper to riſque in the field during the exceſſive

exceſſive heats of April and May, and which therefore was left to do garriſon duty at Allahabad) ſhould take poſt at Scragepore, where he was accordingly ordered to encamp, and obſerve the motions of the ſuſpected army.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in March 1766, when Lord Clive and General Carnac ſet out from Calcutta, in order to regulate, with Mr. Sykes, (reſident at the nabob's court) the collections of the revenue, at Muxadavid and Patna, for the year enſuing; to receive from Sujah Dowlah the balance due of the fifty lacks of rupees (ſix hundred thouſand pounds) ſtipulated by treaty in Auguſt 1765; and to hold a congreſs with thoſe princes of the empire who were deſirous of forming alliances to preſerve themſelves and the company from the incurſions of the Morattoes.

Lord Clive arrived early in April 1766, at Muxadavid, and was now adjuſting the ſtate of the revenues of Bengal, which was to compleat his buſineſs at the city, when he received a letter dated the 19th of that month, from Mr. Verelſt, a gentleman in council at Calcutta, incloſing a remonſtrance from the officers of the third brigade, relative to the reduction of the batta; repreſenting in very exaggerated terms the high price of proviſions, neceſſaries, &c. and requeſting that the late double allowance might be continued. The board thought proper to defer ſending an anſwer to this until they could obtain Lord Clive's ſentiments thereupon. He, without delay, communicated his opinion to Mr. Verelſt, that the remonſtrance, if it had not been tranſmitted

mitted through the commanding officer, nor accompanied with a letter to the governor and council, ſhould be ſent to colonel Sir Robert Barker for his information, acquainting him at the ſame time, that the board did not intend to take any other cognizance of a paper ſo irregularly brought before them. But, leſt it might have been regularly tranſmitted, Lord Clive propoſed in that caſe, that an anſwer ſhould be ſent, ſimilar to that already given to the like remonſtrances, which had been made when the orders for ſtriking off the batta were iſſued. With this addition, however, that it was obſerved, the paper was ſubſcribed by ſeveral lieutenants of the ſeapoy battalions, who have each an extra allowance of two rupees per diem, which, with their pay and ſingle batta (amounting in the whole to two hundred and forty-eight rupees, or thirty pounds fifteen ſhillings and two-pence farthing ſterling per month) could not be deemed an uncomfortable ſubſiſtence.

Although a table of the price of proviſions and European articles cannot with any preciſion be aſcertained, yet it may not be improper to remark, that the former are much cheaper in Bengal than on the coaſt of Coromandel, where double batta was never known; that the latter are dearer only in proportion to the ſmall difference of diſtance between thoſe two places and Great Britain: and that the expence of tranſporting neceſſaries from Calcutta to any part of Bengal, cannot be ſo great as on the coaſt of Coromandel, becauſe the whole country is interſected with navigable rivers. Luxury indeed is boundleſs; and

hence

hence ariſe the imaginary wants, and the real diſtreſſes, of officers on the Bengal eſtabliſhment.

The diſtribution of pay and allowances will give a juſt idea of the advantages accruing to military gentlemen in the ſervice of the Engliſh company in that part of India; advantages much greater, it is preſumed, than thoſe of any other forces in any other part of the world. Hitherto no ſuſpicion had ariſen of the intended reſignation, as even this laſt remonſtrance was perfectly ſilent on that head.

It was not till the 28th of the ſame month (April) late in the evening, that Lord Clive received any advices whatſoever of the mutinous reſolution that had been ſeveral months in agitation; and it is to be obſerved, that the firſt information came from lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, who in a letter, dated Monghyr, 25th of April, acquainted his lordſhip, that the officers of the firſt brigade reſolved on another attempt for the recovery of the batta; that their commiſſions were to be ſent to him at the end of the month, together with a letter, informing him, that they would not draw any pay for the month of May, but would continue to ſerve till the affair ſhould be finally determined for or againſt them. To give a farther inſight into the matter, he incloſed a letter he had the day before received from Sir Robert Barker, together with a copy of his anſwer. In the above-mentioned letter from Sir Robert Barker to Sir Robert Fletcher, is mentioned a quarrel between two officers at Bankipore; their names were Duff and Davis;

Davis; the former a captain, the latter an enſign, in the third brigade.

At a general court-martial that had been held upon one of theſe gentlemen, in conſequence of the ſetting fire to the quarters, it appeared, that the diſpute aroſe from Enſign Davis's refuſing to give up his commiſſion to Captain Duff, who would have forced it from him. Sir Robert Barker, upon examining into the reaſon of ſo ſtrange a tranſaction, to his great ſurpriſe, became acquainted with the combination which had been formed in the third brigade, during his abſence on an expedition to Bettoa. This premature diſcovery very much diſconcerted the officers, as the 1ſt of June had been fixed upon for the general reſignation; and it was not propoſed, that their intentions ſhould tranſpire before that day. It now, however, became neceſſary for them to make ſome alteration in their plan, in order that Lord Clive, and the ſelect committee, ſhould not have time to counter-act and defeat it. The firſt and third brigade accordingly reſolved to reſign on the 1ſt of May; but the ſecond brigade, being at ſo great a diſtance, could not receive information of this change of meaſures early enough to reſign on the ſame day, though the mutinous ſpirit broke out in camp within a week after.

The ſucceeding day's poſt to that which brought the intelligence from Sir Robert Fletcher to Lord Clive, brought a letter, dated from the camp, at Carah, the 15th of April, ſigned full batta, to an officer of the ſecond brigade, who had attended his lordſhip from Calcutta, and was then with him at Mutjyl. The contents of this very

very extraordinary letter was immediately communicated to Lord Clive, who was now fully convinced that the combination was general; though he judged it was not likely that ſo conſiderable a number of thinking men ſhould long continue unanimous in a cauſe, not only highly criminal in itſelf, but which, upon failure of ſucceſs, would involve many of them in inevitable ruin. Some few there might be to whom comfortable fortunes, already acquired in the ſervice, might render the reſignation of their commiſſions a matter of indifference; but many, on the contrary, he knew there were, whoſe circumſtances, whoſe youth, or whoſe extravagance, could not bear that they ſhould voluntarily deprive themſelves of the only means of preſent ſubſiſtence, and be alſo cut off from every proſpect of obtaining a happy independency. How far indeed the reſolution of men made deſperate by diſappointment and impending ruin might be carried, could not eaſily be determined: the troops might follow their example, and a general mutiny enſue. An armed force from the coaſt, or from England, would in that caſe, perhaps, have been the only remedy left; on the contrary, to grant a requeſt, demanded, as it were, ſword in hand, would have been a condecenſion, not only repugnant to the character he had hitherto ſupported, and ſubverſive of his authority as governor and commander in chief, but might have been attended with the worſt of evils: for when threats in this inſtance ſhould have been found ſucceſsful, ſubordination and diſcipline would have been openly diſavowed, demands of a more exorbitant and ſerious nature

might have followed; the civil government might at length have been totally overthrown by the military, and the very exiſtence of the company in Bengal deſtroyed. Submiſſion, therefore, on the part of Lord Clive, would not bear a moment's deliberation. He had a few officers in his ſuite whom he could depend upon; a few others, he concluded, might be had from Calcutta, and the out factories; and ſome of the free merchants would, it was imagined, in caſe of neceſſity, accept of commiſſions. He determined likewiſe to leave the city as ſoon as the important buſineſs he was tranſacting would permit, and to endeavour to reach Monghyr before the 15th of May. By theſe means, he was in no doubt of being able to retain command over the ſoldiers, till a corps of officers could arrive from the preſidency of Fort St. George.

Lord Clive, General Carnac, and Mr. Sykes, forming a committee, met in conſultation on the morning of the 29th, and determining, that the demands of the army ought not to be complied with, diſpatched an expreſs to the counſil at Calcutta, requeſting they would, without delay, acquaint the government of Madraſs with the diſpoſition of the officers, and preſs them to iſſue orders to as many captains and ſubalterns, as could poſſibly be ſpared from immediate ſervice on the coaſt of Coromandel; and likewiſe to ſuch cadets, and others as might be thought qualified to bear council, to hold themſelves in readineſs to embark for Bengal on the ſhorteſt notice. The committee were unanimous in the meaſure ſuggeſted by the committee; and on the 1ſt of May,

May, ſent off their diſpatch to Fort St. George. General Gaillard was at this time gone to the northward to accommodate, either by negociation or force of arms, the diſputes between the nabob of Arcot and the Subah of the Decan; and as it might be neceſſary for the governor and council at Madraſs to have his opinion, how far the requeſt from Bengal could be complied with, Mr. Verelſt tranſmitted to the general a copy of the laſt-mentioned letter, which proved the means of expediting the preparations for the ſupply required.

Lord Clive in the mean time, wrote to colonel Smith, Sir Robert Barker, and Sir Robert Fletcher, upon the ſubject of the aſſociation, incloſing to each a copy of the letter written by the committee to the council, that they might have full information of the meaſures that were intended to take place; at the ſame time, giving them authority to make public his ſentiments if they were likely to have any good effect.

From this time to the ſecond of May, no farther intelligence was received. The ſilence of colonel Smith and Sir Robert Barker, gave his lordſhip ſome hopes, as he expreſſed himſelf that day in a letter to Mr. Verelſt, "That the officers had mutually deliberated upon their ſcheme, and found it not very conveniently practicable;" adding, "I can hardly think, that ſeeing us ſteady in our reſolution, they will venture to brave the conſequences. The firmneſs with which we have hitherto ſupported our civil regulations, muſt leave them without a proſpect of remiſſneſs in thoſe of the military."

A few

A few hours, however, brought him a letter from Sir Robert Barker, dated the 27th of April, which convinced him, that the third brigade was as unanimous as the firſt; in his anſwer he directed Sir Robert Barker, to find out, if poſſible, the perſon in whoſe hands the commiſſions were depoſited; to put in arreſt thoſe officers whoſe conduct could come under the conſtruction of mutiny, and to detain them priſoners at Bankipore, till a general court-martial of field officers could be ſummoned; ſince a trial by their comrades would have been very ineffectual, and it was too evident, that unleſs the ſeverity of martial law were exerted to puniſh the prinicpal inſtigators of this combination, there would ſoon be an end of diſcipline in the army, and of authority in the Eaſt India Company over all their ſervants.

The like inſtructions were at the ſame time ſent to colonel Smith, and to Sir Robert Fletcher. In the poſtſcript of theſe letters is mentioned a letter ſigned firſt brigade. It was addreſſed to captain Fred. Smith, and Thomas Pearſon, the one Aide-de-Camp, the other ſecretary to general Carnac; and the contents as follows;

"Gentlemen,

"We are now to inform you, that all the officers here, and thoſe at Patna and Allahabad, (except a few, and thoſe pimps to power too) have reſolved to reſign the ſervice the firſt day of May next, unleſs the batta is reſtored to what it was in July and Auguſt 1763; and requeſt that you will concur with us in refuſing to ſerve but upon thoſe terms.

This

This is no haſty ill conducted ſcheme, but the ſettled reſolution of the three brigades, who are, to a man, reſolved to ſend every officer to everlaſting coventry, who refuſes to join in a cauſe ſo juſt and honourable. We therefore beg, that you will, immediately upon receipt of this, tranſmit your ſentiments to ſome of your friends here, who may communicate them to us. We further beg, that you will conſider maturely on this ſubject, before you come to any reſolution; for depend upon it, we are determined to go through with it, at the riſque of life, fortune, friends, and every thing that is dear and ſacred.

The gentlemen at Moradbaug may be able to inform you of material circumſtances. Till we have your anſwer, we are truly and ſincerely,

Monghyr,
27 April 1766.

"Your friends,
"the firſt brigade."

The gentlemen at Moradbaug, mentioned in this letter, belonged to a conſiderable detachment doing duty at the city. They were all at this time deeply concerned in the combination; but lord Clive being upon the ſpot, made them ſenſible of their folly, and prevented them from throwing up their commiſſions.

On the 29th of April, Sir Robert Barker wrote again to lord Clive, acquainting his lordſhip with his more full conviction of the determination of the officers, and with the meaſures he was purſuing, not only to ſhake it, but to prevent any alarming conſequences, when it ſhould come to an iſſue, although hitherto no diſpoſition to mutiny had appeared

peared among the private men of his brigade. This could not fail of giving ſatisfaction: but lord Clive was under ſome uneaſineſs on account of the garriſon at Monghyr, where he had reaſon to think the whole ſcheme had been originally planned; and Sir Robert Fletcher's ſilence added much to his anxiety; for it was now the 4th of May and the only letter he had received from that gentleman upon that ſubject, was dated the 25th of April; he therefore thought proper to repeat his former injunctions, that Sir Robert Fletcher ſhould inform himſelf of the names of the principals, and of as many particulars as poſſible relating to the aſſociation; directing him at the ſame time to take the moſt effectual means of ſecuring the fidelity of the ſubahdars, or commanding officers of the black troops, in caſe the European ſoldiers, or the ſeapoys had betrayed any ſymptoms of diſaffection; however, before theſe inſtructions were diſpatched, a letter arrived from Sir Robert Fletcher, dated the firſt of May, incloſing one to him from 42 of his officers, together with a copy of his anſwer, and alſo a letter to him from Sir Robert Barker; the letter from the officers was accompanied by their commiſſions, which they requeſted Sir Robert would keep, till an anſwer ſhould arrive from thoſe who had the power of granting their demands; and in the mean time they aſſured him, that as they reſigned from principle, they reſolved to ſerve without pay of any kind till the 15th.

This actual reſignation of the officers of the firſt brigade no longer permitted lord Clive to doubt, that the other two brigades would with like punc-

tuality

tuality comply with the terms of the aſſociation. A ſupply from Fort St. George, and likewiſe the aſſiſtance of the merchants, became immediately neceſſary. The letter to the gentlemen of council at Calcutta, incloſing the officers addreſs to Sir Robert Fletcher, was therefore diſpatched without delay. The next day, the 5th of May, a letter from Sir Robert Barker, dated the 30th of April, informed lord Clive, that on the 29th the officers of his brigade had made him acquainted with their reſolution to reſign their commiſſions on the firſt of May, though they were willing to ſerve without either pay or batta till the 15th, by which time they ſuppoſed lord Clive would reach Patna, or write his anſwer to their demands.

Sir Robert Barker, after having aſſembled the officers, repreſented to them, that the crime they were committing was no leſs than mutiny, a deſertion, and that he hoped for their own ſakes, they would reflect upon the conſequences, and relinquiſh a project, which, if perſiſted in, would certainly be ruin and diſhonour upon themſelves.

Arguments of this kind, from a commanding officer univerſally beloved, could not fail making ſome impreſſion on their minds; but at the cloſe of the conference they declared, "That they were ſolemnly bound and engaged with the other brigades, to offer their commiſſions on the firſt of May, and that they could not be off."

Sir Robert Barker having been informed, that the men at Monghyr had expreſſed their reſolution to mutiny, repeated to lord Clive his apprehenſions of it, and mentioned alſo an information

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he had received, that a ſum to the amount of 140,000 rupees, near (16,000l. ſterl.) was ſubſcribed for the officers by the gentlemen of Calcutta.

Theſe circumſtances it was thought neceſſary to communicate to the council, not only that they might be apprized of the progreſs of the combination; but that they might exert their endeavours to diſcover thoſe gentlemen in the civil ſervice, who had granted ſuch large encouragement to the mutinous diſpoſition of the army.

Lord Clive then acquainted Sir Robert Fletcher with Sir Robert Barker's doubts concerning the men of the firſt brigade, charging him to act with all poſſible circumſpection, and authorizing him to engage the attachment of the non-commiſſioned officers by aſſurances of reward, if he ſhould ſee a neceſſity of putting their behaviour to the teſt; he further directed him to make ſuch neceſſary preparations as could be made without creating ſuſpicion, for detaching the troops in ſmall parties at a moments warning, and with the like caution to collect boats for conveying the officers to Calcutta; ſince he was determined, if he found them refactory, on his arrival at Monghyr, they ſhould be forced to depart within twenty-four hours. A letter of the ſame date, and to the ſame purpoſe, was alſo diſpatched to Sir Robert Barker.

By a letter of the ſecond of May, Sir Robert Fletcher acquainted lord Clive, that he was convinced no diſturbance could happen, even if the troops knew the conduct of their officers; but that however, for the ſake of amuſement, and a freſh ſubject of converſation, he had marched half the

the brigade to the diſtance of two miles from the fort, under pretence of reducing ſome ſtrong mud forts at Carracpoor.

In anſwer to this, lord Clive ordered him immediately to ſecure the captains who had been moſt active, and to ſend them down priſoners to Calcutta.

The ſentiments of the officers of the third brigade, who were abſent upon detachments, were not certainly known; but between fifty and ſixty of thoſe preſent, in cantonment at Bankipore, kept ſtrictly to their engagement.

On the firſt of May in the forenoon, Sir Robert Barker received the following laconic epiſtle from his adjutant;

SIR,

"The incloſed letters were juſt now brought to me; one of them, directed to you, I ſend by deſire of the officers of the third brigade, the other, I believe, you will think not improperly added.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

May 1, 1766.

F. Robertſon, adjutant."

The letter directed to Sir Robert Barker, which Mr. Robertſon encloſed (and which Sir Robert returned with an aſſurance that he would put the ſeverity of military law in execution, if any man ſhould miſbehave) was ſigned; officers of the third brigade, it contained a repetition of their grievan-

ces, and terms of future ſervice; ſome expreſſions of perſonal regard for the colonel, and a readineſs to act as volunteers, and obey orders, till the 15th of the month, when they expected to be made acquainted with lord Clive's definitive anſwer.

The other letter which Mr. Robertſon mentions to be not improperly added, was the pacquet of commiſſions, together with his authority for ſending them; which was as follows:

To Enſign Robertſon.

"SIR,

"We deſire that you will, before twelve o'clock to-day, ſend our commiſſions to Sir Robert Barker, colonel of the third brigade, together with the incloſed letter.

We are,

May 1ſt, 1766. Your obedient ſervants,
Eleven o'clock.

Officers of the 3d brigade."

Sir Robert Barker had, before this, ſuſpected, but was not ſufficiently certain, that the adjutant was a principal and active member of the aſſociation. He therefore intimated to him that day upon the parade, that he ſhould order him down to Calcutta; in conſequence of which intimation, Mr. Robertſon thought fit to write him the following letter.

SIR,

"SIR,

"I did not well underſtand what laſt you ſpoke to me on the parade, whether it was, that you meant to ſend me a priſoner to Calcutta, or that you expected I would go becauſe you deſired it. If the firſt, 'tis well; if the latter, I muſt acquaint you that I, without having done any thing unmilitary or improper, reſigned the ſervice this morning, releaſing myſelf from military orders, you accepted, examined, but choſe to return the commiſſions; amongſt which mine was one. If I have done wrong, I muſt be brought before the civil power, having freed myſelf from all military reſtrictions.

To leave this immediately will be to loſe all I am worth; ſo that it will be neceſſary to ſend me a priſoner, that I may know where to apply hereafter for reſtitution.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient humble ſervant.

F. Robertſon."

This letter did not intimidate Sir Robert Barker from forcing Mr. Robertſon, and three others to proceed immediately to Calcutta; a meaſure which contributed much to the preſerving good order and diſcipline in his brigade till the 15th of May.

As the affairs of the army were now become very critical, lord Clive determined to leave the buſineſs at the city unfiniſhed, to the management of Mr.

Mr. Sykes, and to march with all poſſible expedition to Monghyr, which place he propoſed reaching on the 14th.

On the evening of the 6th, he accordingly ſet out from Mutajyl, accompanied by general Carnac, and the few officers belonging to the body-guard and an eſcort of ſeapoys.

Majors Champion and Potier, and captains Smith, Pearſon, and Martin, who were all the officers that could be collected at ſo ſhort notice, and whoſe attachment to the ſervice, as well as ſteady adherence to diſcipline, might ſecurely be relied on, were ordered forward, to proceed with the utmoſt haſte to the aſſiſtance of Sir Robert Fletcher.

Lord Clive, that night, at Sydokbaug, 12 miles from Mutajyl, received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher, dated 3d May, acquainting him, that, "That he had uſed every argument in his power to perſuade the officers to a change of conduct, but that they had ſeverally told him, they were determined to abide by what they had done." By an incloſed letter to his brother, a captain at Madraſs, (open for his lordſhip's peruſal) it appeared, that the gentlemen intended to write to their military friends at Fort St. George, to prevail upon them to reject all propoſals that might be made for their removal to Bengal.

This ſcheme was evidently calculated to bring additional diſtreſs upon the government, and thereby to compel lord Clive into terms of accommodation. But in order to counteract the meditated miſchief, a letter was immediately diſpatched to the council at Calcutta, requeſting they would,

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for a time ſtop all private letters to and from Madraſs, except ſuch as could not be ſuſpected to relate to the combination ; and, as a communication of ſentiments, from one part of the army to another, might at this juncture prove extremely dangerous ; it was further propoſed, that the like caution ſhould be uſed at the poſt-office at Calcutta.

During the next day's journey, lord Clive had an account from Sir Robert Fletcher, that he had again remonſtrated to no purpoſe with the gentlemen of his brigade ; that they were rather more inflamed ; that they flattered themſelves their letters to Madraſs would have the deſired effect ; and that it was now artfully inſinuated, a mutiny of the men was already planned, and inevitably happen, if the officers ſhould be diſmiſſed. A copy of this letter together with his lordſhip's anſwer is an extract of a letter from lord Clive to Sir Robert Barker, the 8th of May.

The day following, lord Clive learnt from Sir Robert Fletcher, that he had ſent to Calcutta a captain and lieutenant, upon ſuſpicion of their having been the moſt active in forming the combination ; but that he was perſuaded every precaution had been uſed to conceal the principals. The gentlemen however of this brigade, as well as of the third, ſtill continued to their duty, though their reſolution in the main point was not altered ; and by the converſation of the latter, Sir Robert Barker underſtood, that upon his refuſing to accept their commiſſions, they had ſent them by the poſt to Calcutta ; nor was he deceived, for on the ſecond day of March, lord Clive met an expreſs with

with a very large packet, addreſſed to the governor and council, which upon being opened was found to contain the commiſſions of that brigade, together with a general letter of reſignation, dated the 1ſt of May. Lord Clive detained the commiſſions in his own cuſtody, and forwarded the letter to the board.

During theſe tranſactions the council at the preſidency had received and taken into conſideration the committee's diſpatch of the fourth. The aſſociation of the officers being fully confirmed, and thoſe of the firſt brigade having actually tendered their commiſſions, the board unanimouſly reſolved, agreeable to an intimation given them by lord Clive, that a letter ſhould be written to Sir Robert Fletcher, or the officer commanding at Monghyr, expreſſing their ſenſe of ſuch an extraordinary and unwarrantable proceeding; authoriſing him to accept of as many commiſſions as were offered, and to order down to Calcutta, within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, every man who had reſigned the ſervice; ſince no confidence could prudently be placed in the zeal of thoſe who had deſerted their duty, in a manner ſo inconſiſtent with the character of officers and gentlemen. They farther reſolved, that the ſaid letter ſhould be tranſmitted through the hands of lord Clive and general Carnac, in order that it might have the ſanction of their names; and that an expreſs ſhould be ſent to the preſidencies of Madraſs and Bombay, urging the neceſſity of their united efforts to aſſiſt Bengal in this emergency, and requeſting they would, without loſs of time, embark all the officers, cadets, and others, that could poſſibly be

ſpared, agreeable to the former letters from that board. In the mean time the council, in conſequence of the requeſt of the committee applied to the free merchants, requiring them to give their aſſiſtance on the preſent defection of officers till the vacant commiſſions could be filled up. Aſtoniſhing as it may appear, it is however an inconteſtible truth, that out of near 100 of theſe gentlemen reſident at Calcutta, neither diſqualified by age nor infirmities, two only were found who would accept of commiſſions, upon this very important occaſion, notwithſtanding they knew that the ſervice, that they were to be ſent upon was merely parade duty; that even this would laſt but a few weeks; and that the faith of the governor and council was pledged to allow them the privilege of trade duty free; and to recommend them to the court of directors for a more eſſential reward to the company's welfare; the trifling excuſes made by ſo conſiderable a number of thoſe gentlemen, amounted at leaſt to an approbation of the conduct of the officers, if it did not confirm the truth of the information, that a ſubſcription was raiſed in Calcutta for the ſupport of the military combination.

On the 10th of May, Lord Clive and General Carnac received at Siecaragutty, the letter from the council to the officer, commanding at Monghyr; this they immediately ſigned and diſpatched to Sir Robert Fletcher, with ſome private inſtructions for his conduct, upon the receipt of it, a copy of it was at the ſame time ſent to Sir Robert Barker, that he might intimate to the officers of the third brigade, the unanimous opinion of the board upon

upon the proceedings of thoſe of the firſt. On the 11th a letter arrived from colonel Smith, dated the 29th of April, adviſing, that a conſiderable detachment of the Maratta's army was in motion; that they had advanced down the Southern ſhore of the Jumna, oppoſite to the territories of Korah; and that Ballagarow, one of the chiefs, with ſixty thouſand horſe, was arrived at Culpy, where he was collecting a large number of boats. This letter was addreſſed to the ſelect committee; but the critical ſituation of affairs would admit of no delay in the reply; and the colonel was evidently yet unacquainted with the deſertion of his officers.

Lord Clive therefore heſitated not to inveſt him with full authority to act, in reſpect to forming alliances with neighbouring princes, in ſuch manner as the emergency of affairs might require. And as the reſignation of his officers, at the time of the enemy's nearer approach, might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, his lordſhip impowered the colonel provided he ſhould judge that the troops were ripe for mutiny, and thereby find himſelf reduced to the utmoſt extremity, but under no other circumſtances whatſoever, to make terms with the malecontents.

This day and the next Lord Clive received farther accounts from Sir Robert Fletcher, expreſſing the higheſt opinion of the fidelity of his troops, inſomuch that, "He would ſtake his life upon their good behaviour, notwithſtanding the apprehenſions entertained by Sir Robert Barker." He obſerved, that the worſt which could happen was a mutiny amongſt the Europeans, who were

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ſo inconſiderable a number, that he would put every man of them to death by the ſeapoys, before they could get a cartridge from the magazine; or indeed before they could form themſelves under arms, his own quarters being ſo near the barracks, that he could almoſt overhear every thing that paſſed.

Confident as theſe aſſurances was, lord Clive thought it expedient to purſue his journey with the utmoſt expedition; although the heat at this ſeaſon of the year was ſo inſupportable, that many of the men had already died upon the march; but it was neceſſary to reach Monghyr, if poſſible, before the departure of the officers; and he was now within one day's journey of the place, when early in the morning of the 13th, his progreſs was delayed by a ſudden fall of waters from the mountains, which carried away a bridge that had been thrown over a branch of the river he was obliged to paſs; the ſtream of which was now ſo extremely deep and rapid, that it could not be forded, even by elephants, till late in the evening. A whole day was thus unavoidably loſt: repeated advices however, from Sir Robert Fletcher flattered his lordſhip, that no diſturbance could happen among the troops in garriſon; he hoped indeed that the officers would remain quiet till his arrival; but at all events Sir Robert could not now be much diſtreſſed, as the gentlemen who puſhed forward from Mutajyl was already arrived to his aſſiſtance, and the letter from the governor and council contained ſufficient inſtructions for his conduct. On the 14th, Sir Robert informed his lordſhip, that he had begun the embarkation of the captains, and had appointed a ſurgeon's aſſiſtant, two cadets, and a ſerjeant, to act as enſigns, in order to con-

vince the ſubalterns that the brigade would not be entirely deſtitute of officers. Soon after upon the receipt of lord Clive's letter of the 13th, he invited the gentlemen to duty a day longer: but ſome of them began now to be very troubleſome; and appeared to intend encamping till the arrival of their aſſociates from the other brigades.

The deſcription of affairs at Monghyr, has to this period been collected from Sir Robert Fletcher. It may, however, be not improper to take a view of them from the officers who were detached thither from Moolajyb.

On the arrival of theſe gentlemen at Monghyr, the 12th of May, about nine o'clock at night, they were ſurpriſed to hear the grenadier's march beating, at then the reveille, when they came to Sir Robert Fletcher's quarters, they there found half the European regiment aſſembled, and ſinging and the drummers beating.

The next day they ſeverally viſited the officers of their acquaintance in hopes of prevailing upon them to relinquiſh the diſhonourable project they had ſo raſhly engaged it, or at leaſt to continue doing duty till the arrival of lord Clive and general Carnac.

They repreſented the infamy and ruin that would attend them, if they ſhould in this manner deſert the ſervice: that a combination to reſign their commiſſions all on the ſame day, could be conſidered as no leſs a crime than mutiny: and if the ſoldiers ſhould be tempted to follow their example, the miſchief would not end without bloodſhed, and the murder of many of their countrymen: that lord Clive came firmly reſolved not to yield up the point to them, and would rather ſuffer

death

death than condeſcend to make terms with a ſet of men who were endeavouring to aboliſh all military diſcipline and ſubordination. They farther remonſtrated upon the ingratitude of their behaviour to his lordſhip, who had already given to the amount of near 70,000l. as a fund for the ſupport of all officers and men who ſhould be invalided, or worn out in the ſervice, and likewiſe for the maintenance of the widows.

In anſwer to theſe arguments the officers declared, That they were ſolemnly bound to quit the brigade, whatever might be the conſequence; that they had imagined unanimity in the meaſure muſt have enſured ſucceſs; but that could they have ſuppoſed lord Clive ſo inflexible, they would never have formed the combination. That as to his lordſhip's generous donation to the army, they were entirely ignorant of it, Sir Robert Fletcher not having communicated to them a ſyllable of the matter; and that had they been informed of it, gratitude, as well as ſelf-intereſt, would certainly prevented their preſent conduct. They then alledged that Sir Robert himſelf originally ſet this combination on foot, artfully making them the inſtruments of an oppoſition to lord Clive's government: they acknowledged the probability of a mutiny amongſt the ſoldiers; but declared at the ſame time, that ſhould it happen, they would exert their utmoſt endeavours to quell it. Several of them, particularly captain Goddard, lamented the want of an opportunity to acquaint lord Clive and general Carnac with the part Sir Robert Fletcher had acted, in beginning and promoting this unfortunate affair; but deſired major Champion, and captain Smith and Pearſon, would not fail to report

port their aſſertions, the truth of which they ſaid they were well able to prove.

On the 13th major Champion and captain Pearſon were ordered out to the camp of Curaopore, two miles from Monghyr fort. The reſt of lord Clive's detachment of officers remained in garriſon, to be ready in caſe of a mutiny of the Europeans, which began now to be apprehended. At eleven o'clock at night, two battalions of ſeapoys were marched, under command of captain Smith, to the exerciſing-ground, where they lay upon their arms till morning; when the captain propoſed to Sir Robert Fletcher, that they ſhould return to their own parade, not only as it commanded the principal gates, but as detachments could be more readily made from thence to different parts of the garriſon; and that in order to obviate any ſuſpicion, it ſhould be given out, that lord Clive being hourly expected, it was neceſſary to keep the ſeapoys in the fort, leaſt they ſhould ſtraggle, and not quickly drawn up on his lordſhip's arrival. This advice was immediately followed.

In the afternoon captain Smith received an order from Sir Robert Fletcher to get the two battalions, under arms and to march with all poſſible expedition to the European barracks, the ſoldiers having mutinied, the captain had neither ſubaltern nor ſerjeant to aſſiſt him. One of the reſigned officers happening at that moment to come on the parade, the captain ordered him to take the command of one of the battalions; but finding that he heſitated to obey, he turned from him, and gave the command of it to a black commandant, taking charge of the other himſelf.

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As the mutiny was not unexpected, he had previouſly taken a view of the ground near the barracks. Adjoining to theſe is a hill, whereon ſtands the ſalluting battery, which he was apprehenſive the mutineers would endeavour to ſeize; to avoid any ſignal of his approach, he gave orders that the battalions ſhould march in the profoundeſt ſilence. Inſtead of proceeding the common road, round the hill, he got up the back of it, and ſuddenly took poſſeſſion of the battery, by which means he had the full command of all the barracks, the ſoldiers had actually got under arms, intending to follow their officers, and the artillery were preparing to do the ſame; but the appearance of theſe two battalions of ſeapoys, with fixed bayonets, threw them into confuſion, of which captain Smith took the advantage, and told them he would immediately fire upon them, if they did not retire peaceably to their quarters. Sir Robert Fletcher alſo, who was now arrived, harrangued and diſtributed money amongſt the mutineers, and gave likewiſe to each of them two rupees. They aſſured him, they had been made to believe that he was to head them, otherwiſe not a man of them would have thought of turning out; adding that, if, that was not the caſe, they would not mind their officers, but live and die with him alone. While Sir Robert was talking to the men, ſeveral of the officers came and told him, that as they heard the Europeans had mutinied they were willing to offer him their aſſiſtance. This he refuſed, and ordered them all to quit the garriſon, within the ſpace of two hours, under pain of being ſent off with guards. Before ſix o'clock they accordingly departed; three only of the whole brigade were left, two of whom were then confined to their beds;

beds. Sir Robert Fletcher's own account of this laſt tranſaction, appears in his letter of that night to Lord Clive, in which is the following very extraordinary paragraph:

"Some have been very troubleſome, and particularly thoſe whom I have all along ſuſpected, and whoſe confidence I uſed every art to gain in January laſt, when I heard that the whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigades without giving any warning, I even went ſo far as to approve of ſome of their ſchemes, that they might do nothing without my knowledge."

After peruſal of this, it will naturally be recollected that the earlieſt intelligence given by Sir Robert Fletcher, of the combination of his officers, was in his letter to lord Clive dated the 25th of April, ſix days only before the day of reſignation. In the morning of the 15th of May, lord Clive and general Carnac arrived at Monghyr, where they were immediately informed of all the circumſtances above related; Sir Robert Fletcher the ſame day took an opportunity, in converſation with lord Clive, to repeat the matter of his letter to his lordſhip of the 14th of May above quoted, but upon this ſubject, lord Clive for reaſons which will hereafter be mentioned, did not think proper at that time to expreſs any diſſatisfaction. Orders were iſſued that night for the whole brigade to be drawn out the next day, lord Clive intending to review them. Early in the morning of the 16th he accordingly went to the parade, where the men appeared in very good order, though very thinly officered. The European ſoldiers required his firſt attention; he therefore addreſſed himſelf

ſelf to them in the ſtrongeſt terms: he repreſented to them the heinouſneſs of the crime their officers had committed: explained to them the ground upon which the diſſatisfaction had ariſen; informed them that the double batta was merely an occaſional extraordinary allowance, and never till now looked upon, much leſs demanded, as a right, that the withholding it was an act of the company, the governor and council therein only obeyed the poſitive commands of the court of directors; that the combination which the gentlemen of this battalion had formed, to reſign the ſervice altogether on the ſame day, was no leſs a crime then mutiny, for which the ringleaders would certainly undergo the ſevereſt puniſhments that martial law could inflict; and the moſt of the inferior offenders ſhould be ſent away to England by the firſt ſhips of the enſuing ſeaſon:-- he further obſerved to them, that he was himſelf a ſoldier, and had always been a friend to the army; and he had lately given a very ſtrong inſtance of his regard both to the officers and private men, having eſtabliſhing a fund for the ſupport of all thoſe who ſhould be invalided, or worn out; and alſo to the widows of thoſe who ſhould did in the ſervice. He concluded with exhorting them to behave with regularity and ſobriety, and to do their duty as ſoldiers ſhould, till the arrival of officers, who were then on the road to Monghyr.

He then ſpoke by an Interpretor to the ſeveral battalions of black troops, and highly applauded them for the inſtance they had ſo lately given of their ſteadineſs and faithful attachment to the company;

pany; he diſtributed honorary rewards to the ſeveral commandants, and non-commiſſioned officers, and ordered double pay to be iſſued to the private men for the months of May and June, the whole brigade was much pleaſed with theſe marks of regard from the commander in chief; expreſſed their ſatisfaction and gratitude with decent acclamations; and when they were diſmiſſed from the parade retired without tumult and diſturbance to their quarters.

A detachmenr of the ſeapoys was the next day ſent out in queſt of the reſigned officers, who were now encamped within a few miles of Monghyr, intending to wait the arrival of their aſſociates from the brigades, and conſult together upon the unexpected defeat they had already met with. Lord Clive ſuſpecting their intentions, gave orders that they ſhould immediately proceed to Calcutta and aſſured them that if they did not depart quietly the detachment ſhould convey them away by force. This meſſage had the deſired effect, and the detachment ſoon returned to the garriſon, with an account that the Malcontents having divided themſelves into ſmall parties, were all gone towards the preſidency, ſome by water and ſome by land. Several ſubalterns from the out factories, who had not joined in the combination, and who had received lord Clive's orders to repair to Monghyr, were by this time arrived, and ten or twelve others expected in a few days from Calcutta.

Affairs being thus happily ſettled at Monghyr, lord Clive and general Carnac reſolved to proceed on the 17th to Patna, from whence they could the more eaſily convey aſſiſtance to colonel Smith, whoſe

whoſe critical ſituation required their principal attention. In the mean time, they ſent forward a few officers to Sir Robert Barker, with orders, in caſe their preſence ſhould not be abſolutely neceſſary at Bankipore, to march with all poſſible expedition to Allahabad, where they would receive farther orders from colonel Smith.

Neither the officers nor the men at Bankipore behaved in ſo tumultuous a manner as thoſe at Monghyr. The reſignation indeed took place at the ſame time; but a much greater proportion of officers remained with Sir Robert Barker than with Sir Robert Fletcher, as ſo much cooler had they grown upon reflection, that many more would have returned to their duty, had they not been apprehenſive that ſome of the ringleaders would be called to account by a court-martial; at which thoſe that retracted might be obliged to officiate, contrary to the oath that had bound them to protect the lives of each other. As to his European regiments, it conſiſted chiefly of new recruits who ſhewed not the leaſt diſpoſition to be troubleſome. His chief deficiency was in artillery officers. He therefore took the command of that corps himſelf, and likewiſe a battalion of ſeapoys. Lieutenant colonel Chapman an officer of great experience and addreſs was very inſtrumental in preventing a total deſertion of ſubalterns, and in preſerving diſcipline amongſt the Europeans in the cantonments, whilſt major Grant took charge of a conſiderable diviſion of the brigade, which Sir Robert Barker had prudently detached upon the firſt information he received of the intended reſignation.

It is now time to give an account of the tranſactions at camp in the lines of Serajapore, under the command of colonel Smith, who being in a very critical ſituation, at the eve as it was imagined of a battle, and at a great diſtance from that relief which the other brigades might obtain, laboured under peculiar difficulties.

On the 6th of May all the officers in camp, two only excepted, wrote to the colonel, for leave to reſign their commiſſions, ſome demanding their diſcharge immediately, others on the firſt of June. His aſtoniſhment at this extraordinary conduct, and the reſolution he immediately expreſt in his letter to the ſelect committee and his general orders iſſued out that day, of which the following are copies:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"With ſurpprize and concern I acquaint you, that the major part of the officers of this detachment have wrote to me for leave to reſign their commiſſions: ſome have demanded their diſcharge immediately, others at the expiration of the month. I tranſmit you a copy of the orders of the day, which will ſhew in lively colours my opinion of this tranſaction: In the mean time, I requeſt your immediate anſwer concerning this event, with your inſtructions.

The officers of the garriſon at Allahabad have alſo ſigned a requeſt of the ſame nature; but, as it was ſmuggled to me, without coming through the proper channel I ſhall return it to them; however it ſerves to convince me that this is a general diſſaffection.

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If all the officers of this detachment had determined to turn about on their colours, it ſhould have had no effect upon my meaſures. The field and ſome two or three others who have not forgot what they owe to their own honour, muſt exert themſelves with more alacrity.

I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf, with much reſpect, &c.

Camp in the lines of Serrajapore, 6th May 1766. Richard Smith."

General orders given out by colonel Smith at the camp in the lines of Serajapore, 6th May 1766.

" The colonel cannot find words ſufficient to expreſs his aſtoniſhment at the conduct of all thoſe officers who have applied to him for leave to quit the ſervice at this particular juncture, as a time when an enemy's army, and that army ſo numerous, is encamped at no great diſtance from us. This is a behaviour ſo foreign to every thing that has the leaſt connection with honour, that the colonel bluſhes to find his country-men can ſo readily ſacrifice their own reputation to any private views or conſiderations whatſoever: when theſe honourable motives have no longer any influence, the ſervice of ſuch officers is by no means deſirable. Captains Scott and Auchmuty, captain lieutenants Clifton and Black, lieutenant Elleker, and enſign Maverley, having deſired leave to reſign, are ordered to proceed to Calcutta directly. All thoſe officers who have been pleaſed to fix the firſt of June as the period of their ſervices, ſhall have an anſwer before that day: in the mean time the colonel cannot but

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remark, that thoſe officers who have requeſted leave to reſign their commiſſions, have ſet a moſt extraordinary example to the black troops, and the colonel by their conduct, will be reduced to the neceſſity of placing that confidence in the fidelity of the black officers, which hitherto had been properly repoſed in the zeal of his fellow countrymen.

Richard Smith."

Colonel Smith's letter accompanied with a copy of the above orders, came to lord Clive's hands on the morning of his arrival at Monghyr:

On the 7th of May colonel Smith received the following letter from the officers in camp:

To colonel Richard Smith, commander in chief, &c.

"SIR,

"When aſperſions, unmerited, ungenerous and unjuſt, are publickly caſt, with evident intentions to blacken the reputation of a corps, who have by length of ſervice, and the moſt ardent zeal, eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their beloved country, the honourable company, and their own honour; and who have repeatedly been witneſs to the variety of endeavouring, by repreſenting the moſt ſubmiſſive and moſt conſiſtent with the character they are determined to maintain, of hoping the leaſt redreſs or proſpect of relief from grievances inſupportable to their minds, it behoveth them, in vindication of themſelves, to make this public teſtimonial, that neither the ſuppoſed enemy, which they

they deſpiſe, nor the deſign of injuring their honourable maſters, which they hold dear, has the leaſt tendency, nor was the ſmalleſt motive conducive to the requeſt of any individual of this corps, for liberty to reſign the ſervice, which, with the utmoſt regret, they are compelled to relinquiſh for that happineſs, which is the only end of their being in more hoſpitable climates.

When even hopes are annihilated here, can it therefore be expected, that any ties can be more binding than the ties of nature; or that freedom, and the deſire of that liberty we inherit from our fathers, can be denominated diſhonour or reproach? But, though firmly aſſured of the juſtice and probity of our proceedings as individuals, we cannot behold, without ſomething more than ſorrow, the public orders of the 6th inſtant, which, as they can be productive of no compunction in minds ſatisfied with themſelves, we humbly think that whatever part of them was intended to ſtigmatiſe us with diſhonour, had much better been omitted: as this is a point every gentleman will find too hard to reconcile to his own breaſt, we are ſorry we are obliged to give this inſtance of gratitude to the ſervice, at the peril of loſing that honour, which, than life, is to a ſoldier more dear.

In the mean time we will adhere to our duty, in the manner each has ſignified for himſelf; but to continue ſervice without confidence; yea, without honour, as by imputation we are at preſent ſuppoſed, were, in reality, to be what we are thought, and to merit what we do not deſerve; we deſire therefore that this may be forwarded to the honourable

nourable president and council, that by no misrepresentations we may yet suffer in their esteem; and are still, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

7th May, 1766. Your most obedient, Humble servants,

David Scott, Capt.	James Nicols, Capt.
A. Forbes Auchmuty, do.	William Fenwick, Lt.
Ch. Clifton, Capt. Lieut.	John Jones, Lieut.
Alex. Black, ditto.	G. B. Eyres, Lieut.
E. Ellerbez, Lieut.	Richard Rice, Ensign,
C. Maverly, Ensign	Matt. Nail, 2d Lieut.
Alex. Dowe, Capt.	Henry Lidele, Lieut.
John Buckley, Ensign	Dennis Fieldhouse, Ens.
Robert Brook, Lieut.	Daniel Dow, Ensign
Wm. Vertue. Lieut.	Gabt. Harper, Lieut.
Wm. Benton, Lieut.	Gabl. Johnstone, Ens.

To this the colonel returned the following answer:

General Orders. Camp in the Line of Serrajepore, May 8th, 1766.

"As the first point of honour in all officers of the army should be fidelity to the state they serve, so no private considerations can exculpate or extenuate the conduct of those officers, who can so far forget their duty as to form an association against their superiors; more especially at a time when the troops are employed, and possibly actual service may happen; the colonel is therefore invariable in his opinion, and thinks such conduct is foreign to every thing that has the least connection

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tion with honour; for this reaſon, thoſe officers that fixed ſo ſhort a period to their ſervices, were promiſed an anſwer before the end of the month. The colonel has received a letter, ſigned by the major part of the detatchment. When officers forget what they owe to their own honour, and the public ſervice, the colonel is by no means ſurpriſed they ſhould forget the reſpect due to him; therefore as Captains Dow and Nicols, Lieutenants Eyre, Benton, and Jones, had acquainted the colonel with their intentions to reſign at the end of this month, he now directs thoſe officers to proceed without delay to Calcutta.

RICH. SMITH."

In the afternoon of the day whereon this laſt general order was iſſued, Lieutenant Vertue came to Colonel Smith, and deſired leave to reſign his commiſſion immediately. The colonel told him, that by the general order of the 6th, he was promiſed an anſwer before the end of the month, and that he certainly ſhould have an anſwer before the expiration of that period; but that he would not permit, him to reſign. After ſome altercation, Lieutenant Vertue told the colonel, that if he would not accept his commiſſion, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of having it with him: he accordingly laid down his commiſſion upon the table, acquainted the colonel he had done ſo, and took his leave. Colonel Smith finding the lieutenant had actually left the camp, took the neceſſary meaſures for his being apprehended, that he might be brought to trial for diſobedience of orders and deſertion; he was accordingly put in

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arreſt on his arrival at Patna. The ſentence paſt upon him by the general court-martial will be hereafter mentioned.

Colonel Smith, on receipt of Lord Clive's letters of the 29th of April and 2d of May, made public his lordſhip's ſentiments, together with thoſe of the committee, in their letter to the council at Calcutta; and recommended to Major Smith the officer commanding at Allahabad, to uſe his utmoſt influence to bring the officers in garriſon to a proper ſenſe of their duty, diſpatching to them at the ſame time the following remonſtrance from himſelf upon the ſubject.

To the Captains and Subalterns of the Second Regiment of Infantry, in garriſon at Allahabad.

" Gentlemen,

" If the public ſervice could poſſibly diſpenſe with my abſence from the camp, moſt aſſuredly I would repair to Allahabad, for I cannot read your letter to me, wherein you declare your intentions of reſigning your commiſſions, without feeling the utmoſt concern. As I cannot therefore aſſemble you together in perſon, I muſt take this method of offering my ſentiments. I intreat you, gentlemen, for your own honour, for my honour, and for the honour of the regiment, to weigh well this matter; view it, I beſeech you, diveſted of prejudice, and ſuffer not yourſelves to be trifled with againſt your better judgment. I have tranſmitted Major Smith, the commanding officer

officer at Allahabad, the fixed determination of Lord Clive and the committee, with ſome other papers relative to this matter which he will communicate you. It is impoſſible for me to ſee, without the moſt alarming reflections, all thoſe inevitable conſequences which muſt enſue, if you perſiſt in this improper meaſure. I conjure you not wantonly to abandon your fair proſpects in this ſervice; and as I have not yet tranſmitted your requeſt to the committee, I cannot receive a juſter ſatisfaction than a deſire from you to ſuppreſs it.

"To my ſituation in the field you are no ſtrangers; let me but again hear you are ſteady in your duty, and I ſhall ſend orders for many of you to join me with the utmoſt expedition, that if the enemy ſhould attempt to enter theſe provinces we may ſhare the honour of defeating their intentions.

With real regard, I am,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
RICH. SMITH."

Head Quarters in the
Lines of Serrajepore,
May 12, 1766.

This letter, inſtead of prevailing on the officers to proceed no farther in their unmilitary reſolutions, ſerved only to exaſperate them the more, and drew from them the following intemperate reply:

To Colonel Richard Smith.

"SIR,

"Your letter addreſſed to us, and that of the honourable committee to the council, have been made public to us by the major this morning; and we are no ways ſurpriſed, that after the infamy you have endeavoured to brand us with in the order of the 6th of May, you ſhould entertain the mean opinion of us, that we ſhould be frightened from any reſolution we have already teſtified to the public. The temerity of an order of this kind is what principally ſurpriſed us, as we can conceive no good end it would anſwer to the ſervice while oppoſite conſequences may be evident. You have therefore put it out of our power to render the honourable company thoſe voluntary ſervices we had before offered; ſo that we are come to a final determination of proceeding downwards, as we plainly perceive by your not tranſmitting our letter to the council, that we are trifled with, and are unanimouſly reſolved to ſet out for Calcutta the 20th inſtant.

We are, SIR,
With due reſpect,
The Gentlemen of the 2d regiment."

Upon this new declaration, that they would not continue to ſerve after the 20th, Major Smith found himſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation; every captain and every ſubaltern of the European regiment, Lieutenant Delafield only excepted,

cepted, were concerned in the combination, and many of them behaved in ſuch a diſreſpectful and turbulent manner, as convinced him they were rather inclined to promote than diſcourage a mutiny of the men.

Their letter to the colonel, above quoted, was by the major deemed of ſo inſolent a nature, that he intended to have put them all in arreſt, but he was informed, that if he did, they would make the ſoldiers take up arms againſt him, as they had already engaged the men in their cauſe. Under theſe circumſtances he judged it neceſſary to diſpatch an expreſs to Serrajepore for an old battalion of ſeapoys which he had long commanded, and whoſe behaviour he knew might be relied on in any caſe of emergency. This battalion, under the command of Lieutenant Brooke, performed the march with ſurpriſing expedition: in two days and ſix hours they reached Allahabad, which is one hundred miles diſtant from the lines of Serrajepore, arriving ſeveral hours before the time fixed upon by the officers for evacuating the garriſon. Major Smith had by this time brought ſeveral to a more proper ſenſe of their duty, and they all agreed to ſerve, according to their firſt propoſal, to the end of the month. This moderation of temper did not however remain general. On the 22d, Lieutenant Monſell, and Enſign North, came to him as deputies from the corps, deſiring to diſmiſs Lieutenant Peek from the employment of adjutant, and to turn him away from his table; and when the major deſired to know the reaſon of this mutinous unſoldier-like meſſage, they replied, that Mr. Peek had retracted

tracted from his engagement with them, and was no longer a man of honour. Major Smith, enraged at this additional inſtance of diſaffection, immediately confined Lieutenant Monſell and Enſign North, and ordered Lieutenant Delafield and Lieutenant Brooke to get the eighth battalion under arms. He then went himſelf and put all the officers in garriſon in arreſt, except four; telling them he expected they ſhould in leſs than an hour make a proper ſubmiſſion for the affront they had offered to his authority; and that if they preſumed to break their arreſt, or attempted to raiſe any diſturbance in the fort, the ſeapoys ſhould have orders to put every one of them to death. This ſpirited behaviour produced immediate ſubmiſſion, and he ſoon releaſed them all, except the gentlemen of the deputation, and four others, whom he thought proper to ſend priſoners to Patna.

While the officers at Allahabad were thus prevented from carrying matters to extremities, Colonel Smith, by the ſame means, ſecured tranquility in the camp, entertaining no doubt of the fidelity of the black troops, and perceiving that no good was to be expected from the generality of the European officers under his command, he diſmiſſed the above corps, and ordered them to proceed to Calcutta.

On the 20th of May lord Clive and general Carnac arrived at the cantonments at Bankipore, where as have already been mentioned, the deſection had not been attended with much inconvenience, ſince many of the officers of the third brigade, although they had reſigned their commiſſion, continued nevertheleſs

vertheleſs to do duty: all theſe, therefore, at the interceſſion of Sir Robert Barker, lord Clive conſented to reſtore.

Intelligence being brought, that thoſe who had left the cantonment, were ſtill hovering about Patna; a party of ſeapoys were ſent out to order them to depart immediately to Calcutta; and as the officers from Serrajepore and from Allahabad were upon the road, detachments were placed at proper ſtations to obſerve their motions, and to prevent their raiſing diſturbances in the country. Lord Clive at the ſame time wrote to the French and Dutch chiefs of Chandernagore and Chinſura, informing them of what had paſt, and deſiring them not to ſuffer any of the Engliſh officers to take refuge in their factories. To Sir Robert Fletcher he ſent orders, that not a man of the ſecond and third brigade ſhould, on any pretence whatſoever, be permitted to enter the gates of Monghyr; and to the council at Calcutta he recommended that a watchful eye ſhould be kept upon the conduct of the officers after their arrival at the precedency: and that if they attempted to foment diſturbances, they ſhould be all confined in the next fort, until the Europe ſhip ſhould be ready to receive them on board.

In the mean time, as many of the principals of the combination as could be found was put under arreſt, in order to take their trial as ſoon as a general court-martial of field officers could be ſummoned. The temper of the ſecond brigade alſo was now much altered, the officers whom lord Clive had ſent forward to Allahabad, on their arrival received orders from colonel Smith, to join him at Serrajepore; but there happily proved no occaſion

for

for their ſervice. The fate of their combination at Monghyr and Bankipore, ſoon became publickly known at Allahabad and the camp. The gentlemen of the ſecond brigade were now convinced that the ſcheme for recovering the double batta would prove ineffectual; they ſaw that lord Clive would not yield to their demands; that colonel Smith was not afraid even in his critical ſituation to truſt wholly to the fidelity of the black officers; that ſome of their aſſociates were in arreſt for mutiny and deſertion, that many others were to be ſhipped off for England; that a ſtrong ſupply would ſoon arrive from Madraſs, and that in the mean time the field officers of each brigade, with the aſſiſtance of a few captains and ſubalterns, who by a timely ſubmiſſion were reſtored to the ſervice, could keep the whole army in good order and diſcipline. Theſe conſiderations added to the reflection that their fortune and reputation, if not their lives, were at ſtake, prevailed upon them not to quit their brigades at the time agreed upon, but to ſolicit forgiveneſs and reſtoration. They accordingly made all poſſible ſubmiſſion for the irregularities they had been guilty of, and requeſted permiſſion to continue in the ſervice; colonel Smith who had authority from lord Clive to pardon thoſe whom he wiſhed to retain in his brigade, reinſtated all who had behaved with moderation, and who were not in other reſpects unworthy of favour.

Repentance and humiliation now became general.

Letters of recantation arrived from almoſt every officer, each acknowledging the raſhneſs and crime

crime of the late aſſociation, and each ſoliciting permiſſion to return to his duty. Few of the ſubalterns had any other means of ſubſiſtence, than their commiſſions in the company's ſervice, and many of them were very young men, who had been inveigled, or rather forced into the combination by their elders; for when the ringleaders failed in the art of perſuaſion, they ſcrupled not to have recourſe to violence, threatening ſome with the eternal obliquy of their brother officers, and others even with death, if they refuſed to reſign their commiſſions: tenderneſs and compaſſion therefore took place of the rigour of military diſcipline; all the enſigns, many of the lieutenants, and ſeveral of the captains were reinſtated in the ſervice; but in order to prevent any further combination, it was at the ſame time given out in public orders, that every officer that had reſigned, and was reſtored, ſhould be obliged to execute a contract not to quit the ſervice under a certain limited time without giving year's notice.

With regard to thoſe who had deſerted their duty in the field at Serrajepore, ſeveral of them were kept in arreſt to take their trials; then others whoſe conduct had been in a leſs degree exceptionable, were ordered to hold them in readineſs to embark for Europe.

Many of the vacancies were in a few weeks filled up by officers from the coaſt, who were admitted according to the rank they held on the Madraſs eſtabliſhment, ſo far as not to prejudice any of equal rank in Bengal, who had not reſigned their commiſſions.

The

The army was thus in a manner new modelled, and, we may venture to aſſert became ſoon as compleat, as to good officers and diſcipline as any army of the company in India, ever was before that period.

The happy iſſue of this conſpiracy is not to be attributed to the reſolution of lord Clive alone : an oppoſition of ſuch a dangerous nature, abetted and encouraged as this was by many gentlemen in civil ſervice, and at a time when the provinces were threatened with an invaſion, could not have been overcome, had not the meaſures ſuggeſted by his lordſhip been ſteadily purſued, and unanimouſly ſupported by the council. Much is alſo to be attributed to the activity and firmneſs of the field-officers of each brigade, without which all the efforts would probably have proved unſucceſsful. Theſe gentlemen as has been obſerved in the courſe of the narrative, ſeverally exerted themſelves in ſuppreſſing the tumultuous diſpoſition of the officers under their command, and alſo in preventing a mutiny of the ſoldiers, which ſeemed almoſt the natural conſequence of a defection of the captains and ſubalterns ; nor would it be proper to diſmiſs this ſubject without remarking that the fate of the Eaſt India company, depended at that time, and will ever in a great meaſure depend upon the attachment of the native diſciplined troops, which indeed is not to be ſuſpected, ſo long as they are regularly paid, well commanded and treated with humanity.

To what lengths the military gentlemen, had they ſucceeded in the firſt inſtance, would afterwards have extended their demands, can ſcarcely be

be conjectured; but it has been confidently aſſerted that three other points, beſides the reſtoration of double batta were intended to be ſtruggled for, viz.

1ſt. The abolition of the new covenants, concerning the receipts of preſents from the princes of the country:

2nd. The annihilation of the powers of the ſelect committee; and,

3rd. A ſolemn promiſe from the governor and council, and a ſtanding order of the board, that none of the officers in Bengal ſhould, in future be ſuperſeded by any others appointed by the court of directors from England or from either of the company's ſettlements in India.

It is not to be imagined, that all thoſe officers who were now excluded the ſervice, and directed to leave India, readily complied with the orders for embarkation. Some there were who determined to reſiſt: among theſe were Meſſrs. Duffield and Robertſon, two of the ringleaders of the combination in the third brigade.

In the month of Auguſt when they received orders to embark in the lord Camden, then under diſpatch for Europe, they ſent a remonſtrance to the board; ſetting forth, that they ſhould be greatly diſtreſſed if driven to the neceſſity of leaving India before they had ſettled their private affairs; and that therefore they neither could nor would comply with the orders; they alſo delivered in a proteſt, declaring the board reſponſible for the conſequences of enforcing obedience; Mr. Robertſon at the ſame time repreſenting that the ill ſtate of

his health would not admit of his making a voyage without endangering his life.

That there might be no doubt in this particular, the governor and council directed the principal ſurgeons of the ſettlement to viſit him; and the ſubſtance of their report was, that they did not find any objection, on account of his health, to his going on board of ſhip.

Apprehenſive that the authority of the board would not thus be baffled, the gentlemen thought proper, as a dernier reſort, to ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and barracade their doors. Theſe means they concluded would effectually ſecure them from the civil power; and as to the martial law they defied it, becauſe they had been pleaſed to reſign their commiſſions, and would no longer be conſidered as military men. The governor and council immediately taking into conſideration the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued upon this occaſion, came unanimouſly to the following reſolutions, viz.

"Reſolved, that as Meſſrs. Duffield and Robertſon have, by their unwarrantable and mutinous conduct in the late aſſociation, forfeited the privilege of reſiding within the boundaries of the company's poſſeſſions; and have, in defiance of the order of the board, refuſed to embark on board the Lord Camden for Europe, they be compelled to embark on board the ſaid ſhip, that they may be conveyed to England; and although from an act of George the Firſt, we derive a ſufficient authority to have recourſe on this occaſion to the civil power; yet, conſidering that Meſſrs. Duffield and Robertſon are military men, and

and that the delays that unavoidably attend the proceeding of the civil magiſtrate in Calcutta, would be extremely dangerous to all law, good order, and government, at a time when the mutinous opinion, that the army is not ſubject to the articles of war, is ſo induſtriouſly propagated and openly avowed, it is agreed, that the ſaid gentlemen be, without delay, apprehended by the military power, and kept in confinement as mutineers, until they can be embarked, when they ſhall be ſent on board the ſhip under a guard."

At the ſame time, the board think it a neceſſary caution in the inſtructions to be given to the officer who ſhall be employed upon this occaſion, to order him on no account to break open doors or windows to come at the perſons of Meſſrs. Duffield and Robertſon; but ſhould he find them barracadoed in their apartments, and that they obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to ſurrender themſelves (as from the information received will moſt probably be the caſe) that he content himſelf with placing centinels round the houſe, ſo as to prevent an eſcape, and to hinder any perſon or proviſions going to them.

Theſe are determined upon as the moſt moderate means of inforcing the above reſolution of the board; and the right honourable the preſident is deſired to give the neceſſary orders for carrying the ſame into execution.

We cannot but be unanimouſly of opinion, that the mutinous conduct of theſe gentlemen, during the late treacherous combination, would alone have juſtified the reſolution of this day's conſultation; but we are farther convinced of the propriety

propriety thereof, when we conſider the moſt frivilous pretexts and diſingenious artifices have been made uſe of, in order to evade the legal executive power of this government; that the moſt audacious defiance has been publicly bid to our authority; and that the permitting theſe men to continue in the ſettlement would not only create an opinion, that every man has in himſelf a right, independent of the company, to reſide in India, but likewiſe greatly tend to the encouragement and increaſe of that ſpirit of ſedition, mutiny, and conſpiracy, which has been raging throughout the army, and which is our indiſpenſible duty, for the ſecurity of the whole, by almoſt any means to overcome.

The reſignation of the officers in Bengal, which has been traduced, is a concerted mutiny and aſſociation of diſcontented officers, notwithſtanding all the miſrepreſentations of the right honourable the preſident and council before the committee of ſecrecy appointed by the houſe of commons, was in every reſpect juſtifiable, is a lawful reſiſtance againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion. The officers who had the ſoldiery at their command ſhould have engaged the aſſiſtance of the men which could alone have ſecured ſucceſs, Lord Clive having declared, that nothing leſs than a mutiny of the ſoldiers ſhould force him to comply with the terms of the officers; and I take upon myſelf to reproach them for their daſtardly behaviour in ſuffering ſo many gallant officers, injured and perſecuted, to be ſent to Calcutta.

No doubt that many of the civilians upon the Bengal eſtabliſhment, ſenſible of their wrongs, were

were equally diſſatisfied at ſuch unwarrantable proceedings of the noble lord and his committee, and acted with a becoming ſpirit in raiſing ſubſcriptions for ſuch officers as might reſign their commiſſions, running the riſk to be ſuſpended or diſmiſſed the company's ſervice, rather than to be neutral ſpectators of ſuch odious meaſures. Captain Goddard, and other officers of the firſt brigade accuſed their lieutenant colonel Sir Robert Fletcher to have been the firſt inſtigator of their reſignations: he was charged, when he found a reſignation was not to go forward by his private hints and encouragements, to have at laſt ventured to recommended it publickly at a table of a dozen officers; telling them that the brigade major and his aid de-camp, ſhould firſt ſet the example; and that their diſcontent, joined to that of the civilians would inevitably deprive his lordſhip of all power; adding, that he was well acquainted with the four gentlemen lord Clive had called from Madraſs to fill up vacancies in council at Bengal, who he was ſure would all join againſt him. He was accuſed of having ſaid, that the army was inſulted, their ſervices rewarded with ingratitude, and that his lordſhip's deſign was to reduce officers to contempt and beggary.

Sir Robert Fletcher wrote to his lordſhip a few days after, in a manner, that could not fail to convince his lordſhip that the accuſation in general was founded upon truth: he ſaid, that the concern he had in aſſiſting and encouraging the officers to reſign was aggravated, and confeſſed his imprudence. The judge-advocate general at the inſtance of captain Goddard laid a regular information

tion of mutiny againſt Sir Robert Fletcher, who was thereupon put on arreſt the third of July, the day on which he arrived at Patna.

One captain Stainforth of the firſt brigade at Monghyr, during the courſe of theſe tranſactions being in liquor, had made uſe of threatening expreſſions againſt his lordſhip's life, for which he was tried and ſentenced to be caſheered.

The lenity which prevailed at the general court-martial upon the trial of ſix officers for mutiny, obliges us to obſerve, that a contract ſeems to be implied, as one of the obligations neceſſary, for ſubjecting an officer even in pay to the rules and articles of war, as appears in the preamble to the act of parliament for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion of officers and ſoldiers in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company. The members of the court-martial conſidered themſelves, this defect, as a plea on the behalf of the priſoners.

The rage with which the officers had been actuated by the reduction of the batta, was a natural conſequence of having been deprived of advantages which they had before enjoyed; numbers of them were involved in debts, from which they had no proſpect of extricating themſelves, and were really reduced to much diſtreſs by the ſcantineſs of their allowances.

Sir Robert Fletcher had promiſed to accept the reſignation of the officers of his brigade, as he was ſenſible they had an undoubted right to reſign; the officers in the company's ſervice, not bound by any contract, could legally reſign their commiſſions without the conſent of the governor and council, and were not guilty of mutiny in doing it: conſequently

quently Sir Robert Fletcher could not be guilty of mutiny in only advising them to it. The company itself has acknowledged that the officers might resign their commissions, by having resolved to oblige them in future to sign contracts, and by putting the resignation of the officers of the first brigade in public orders at the presidency.

The sentence of the court-martial upon lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, was, "That having been guilty of mutiny, excited sedition; the court adjudged him to be cashiered." How could he, bound by no contract with the company, be adjudged guilty of mutiny and sedition? I leave those conversant with military laws, to which in fact neither he nor all the company's officers were not subject, to decide.

The substance of the bond executed by the officers, and transmitted to lord Clive by Sir Robert Fletcher was, that having entered into an engagement to resign their commissions in the company's service, and not to resume them unless the batta of the troops was again restored to what it was in July and August 1763. They bound and obliged themselves severally not to accept of any commission in that service, till they had obtained the satisfaction required, under the penalty of 500l. sterling, recoverable in any of his majesty's courts of justice. This obligation was to be void and of no effect, if the batta was restored to the above-mentioned standard; otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

The officers of the third brigade commanded by Sir Robert Barker, sent a remonstrance addressed to lord Clive and the council of Fort William,

lam, ſetting forth their ſufferings, and the miſeries that either preſſed or threatened them every where, in conſequence of the orders of the 31ſt of December for the curtailing of batta.

Without neceſſaries ſaid they, 'tis preſumed it will not be ſaid we can ſubſiſt in Indoſtan; and all commodities here fifty, ſixty, and upwards to two hundred per cent. more than at Fort William. The wages of ſervants too remain unalterable. Indeed to an officer nothing is new except multiplied diſtreſs. The preſent allowance is much inadequate to what is eſſentially requiſite to the ſupport of nature, and the ſtation an officer is honoured with. You know the fatigues of an officer in hot and rainy weather; the neceſſity of his having a horſe or palanquin, and the preſent impoſſibility of his procuring either. They concluded, by beſeeching the preſident and council to cancil the orders of the 31ſt of December, which were already moſt ſeverely felt, and if not countermanded, muſt quickly bring poverty and wretchedneſs on the officers.

Their grievances were unnoticed and obtained no redreſs. If one conſiders the dearneſs of all neceſſaries in Indoſtan, and the various things an officer is obliged to be provided for, the pay of the company great as it ſeems, is by no means adequate to their expences.

The following ſhews the pay, batta, and additional allowances to the different ranks of military officers, ſerving on the Bengal eſtabliſhment, in pounds ſterling, at 2s. 3d. per current rupees.

Colo-

Rank.	Total per Annum, Sterling.
Colonel	£. 3433 19 1
Lieutenant colonel	1300 13 11
Major	975 10 5
Captain	464 10 8
Captain lieutenant	371 12 6
Lieutenant	278 14 4
Enfign	214 5 8
Cadet	92 18 1

Seapoy Officers.

Captain	464 10 8
Lieutenant	369 2 3
Enfign	287 3 8

Artillery.

Captain	500 9 11
Captain lieutenant	413 11 8
Firſt lieutenant	290 14 2
Second lieutenant	290 14 2
Lieutenant fireworker	229 5 4

Cavalry.

Captain	555 19 3
Captain lieutenant	498 1 3
Firſt lieutenant	354 12 6
Second lieutenant	334 4 8
Cornet	289 16 8

Staff.

Quarter maſter general	464 10 8

Rank.	Total per Annum, Sterling.
Judge-advocate general	464 10 8
Chaplain	464 10 8
Aid-de-camp	464 10 8
Secretary	464 10 8
Field engineer	464 10 8
Brigade major	464 10 8
Surgeon	464 10 8
Surgeon assistant	278 14 4
Adjutant	278 14 4
Quarter-master	278 14 4
Commissary and conductor	214 5 8

Staff in staff, composed garrison from civilians.

Interpreter	464 10 8
Pay-master	464 10 8
Deputy pay-master	278 14 4
Commissary of masters	464 10 8
Deputy ditto	278 14 4
Commissary of boats	464 10 8
Deputy ditto	278 14 4
Town major	185 16 3
Barrack master	185 16 3
Town adjutant	92 18 1

N. B. The batta of officers in cantonments is only half of that enjoyed in the field; the batta after crossing the Caramnassa, is double the field batta.

In the colonel's absence the next field officer commanding the regiment receives the additional batta

batta of the rank above him, with forty rupees per diem for his table.

Every ſtaff officer, excluſive of the pay of the rank he holds in the army, receives the pay and batta of the rank he holds in the ſtaff.

Sir Robert Fletcher in a letter to lord Clive, dated Monghyr the 25th of April 1766, concluded in this manner. I judge the other brigades are ripe for an inſurrection. Whatever the indigent majority of officers may, or may not have for carrying this matter ſo far, I hardly ſee any colour of a plea for thoſe who bear double poſts.

Above one hundred and thirty officers wrote a letter to captain Carnac, dated Korah April 15th 1766. They acquainted him that in conſequence of the orders of the 31ſt of December, the officers of the firſt, ſecond, and third brigades, had come to an agreement of reſigning their commiſſions which were lodged to the amount of one hundred and thirty. They therefore requeſting him to ſend his commiſſion to ſome friend of the firſt brigade, with ſuch directions as he ſhould think proper, as experience had ſhewn there was no dependence on verbal declarations. They acquainted him that all the abſentees had been wrote to on the occaſion; and that a ſubſcription had been opened for ſupporting thoſe who might want it; in caſe the council ſhould think proper to accept of all their commiſſions, or to indemnify thoſe who might be pointed out as principals and ſufferers, ſhould the batta ever be reſtored. This letter was ſigned Full Batta.

The officers bound themſelves by their honour to pay a ſum of money, in proportion to the rank they

they held in the company's ſervice, in order to defray the expence of going to England, and purchaſing an equal commiſſion in his majeſty's ſervice, for any officers, who might be ſingled out to ſuffer in the cauſe, in which they were engaged.

His lordſhip was much enraged at an anonymous letter ſigned, Firſt Brigade, which ſaid, that none but pimps to power would refuſe to reſign their commiſſions. "I wiſh, ſaid lord Clive, in a letter dated Mootejyl, May 2 1766, to colonel Smith, if I could diſcover the authors of theſe anonymous letters, my utmoſt endeavours ſhould be uſed to get them ſhot."

This proves his lordſhip's violent and bloody diſpoſition, with the unprecedented military diſpotiſm he intended to eſtabliſh in Bengal.

It ſeems colonel Smith had perſuaded lord Clive, that the Maratta's were prepared to invade the Korah province, as his lordſhip mentions in a letter, dated at Shahabad, May 11th 1766, that the colonel's return to Allahabad might carry too much the appearance of a retreat; for this reaſon, the noble preſident approved of the colonel encamping at Serajapore, recommending him to preſerve his poſt, till the pretended motions of the Moratta's ſhould admit of his march to Allahabad. Should they advance to the frontiers, continues his lordſhip, you will act in the manner you may judge moſt defenſive for the provinces of Korah and Sujah al Dolah's dominions. The colonel was empowered to enter and conclude ſuch treaties with any of the adjacent powers, as he might think the emergency of affairs in theſe parts might require: however, he did not imagine that an excurſion would be attempted

attempted ſo late in the ſeaſon, eſpecially into the nabob's country, ſo well ſecured by the Ganges.

The nabob of Bengal having paid a viſit to lord Clive at Sydokbangs, and being then much out of order, died the 8th of May, of that ſort of fever which affects the noſe, and Syſa Dowlah the next brother was placed upon the Muſnut.

Lord Clive and colonel Smith with ten or twelve officers, proceeded with all expedition to Patna, and from thence proceeded to Banaras and Allahabad.

His lordſhip at that time lodged to the amount of near ſeventy thouſand pounds (a legacy left him by Meer Jaffier) in the company's caſh, the intereſt of which he eſtabliſhed as a fund for the ſupport of officers and men, who may be diſabled or worn out in the ſervice.

To a colonel 500l. per annum; to a lieutenant-colonel 300l. to a major 200l. to a lieutenant 100l. to an enſign 70l. to a ſerjeant 20l. to a corporal 15l. and 10l. to a private man; part of which penſions is to be continued to their widows. We cannot but commend ſuch an eſtabliſhment: this extraordinary act of his lordſhip's public ſpirit and generoſity was at this juncture ſuggeſted by policy, when moſt of the officers in the company's ſervice was diſſatisfied of his other military regulations. This eſtabliſhment has been ſince differently regulated by the company. A great number of officers put their commiſſions in a box, and had them preſented to his lordſhip: one of them writing to his friend, ſaid, "I do not doubt, but that you have heard of the five lacks he has given to the military; a generous ſoul, to break their heads firſt and then give them a plaiſter." He was taking the

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moſt deſperate meaſures againſt the officers who had reſigned; wholly influenced by ambition and ſelf-intereſt, if the noble preſident had compaſſed his deſigns, eternal ſlavery with ſhame would have been the officers lot. Had the men joined them, his lordſhip would have been forced to come into their terms. In a letter to the officers of the third brigade, are the following words: "What a pimp your colonel is, I wonder you don't flog him." They were reproached for having in a daſtarly manner let Duffield be ſent to Calcutta.

The following is a converſation been his lordſhip and the general; over-heard by an officer of the third brigade.

General Smith. What will your lordſhip do with the army?

Lord Clive. Hang one half for an example to the other.

General. How will you be provided with officers?

Clive. Send to Madraſs and Bombay for all they can ſpare; and make ſerjeants and corporals for the preſent.

General. Our ſerjeants and corporals will never do for officers.

Clive. They will do till we get better.

General. And when you have got better, what will your lordſhip do with them?

Clive. Why reduce one half to their former ſtations, and for fear the other half ſhould be too ſtrong, I will order them to Calcutta, clap them on board ſhips, and ſend them to Bencoolen, where they ſhall do private duty as before.

General,

General. Your lordſhip will be liable to proſecutions at home.

Clive. I'll be d--d then; for I'll ſend ſuch inſtructions to the governor, that few ſhall remain to tell the ſtory.

General. If the men join, what will you do?

Clive. By G-d, I muſt give them their own terms; but the gentlemen by acting as volunteers ſeemed determined to prevent that; let them do ſo a little while longer, and by G-d I'll do for them.

The above is an abſolute fact, which proved that if the officers had engaged their men to follow them, lord Clive ſhould have been forced to give up all thoughts of a military reformation.

Lord Clive in the proceſs of his examination before the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, ſaid, that the city of Muxadavad was as extenſive, populous and rich, as the city of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the firſt, poſſeſſing infinitely greater property than any in the laſt city: theſe, as well as other men of property, continued he, made me the greateſt offers (which nevertheleſs are uſual upon ſuch occaſions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted theſe offers, I might have been in poſſeſſion of millions, which the preſent court of directors could not have diſpoſſeſſed me of: but preferring the reputation of the Engliſh nation, the intereſt of the nabob, and the advantage of the company, to all pecuniary conſiderations, I refuſed all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the laſt hour of my continuance in the company's ſervice in Bengal; and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one ſingle inſtance

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of my being influenced by intereſted motives to the company's diſadvantage; or to do any act that could reflect diſhonour to my country, or the company, in any one action of my adminiſtration either as governor or commanding officer. I little expect to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received ſuch treatment from the court of directors, eſpecially after the many public and honourable teſtimonies of approbation I had received.

Theſe were bold aſſertions after the numberleſs inſtances of his lordſhip's ſordid and diſgraceful monopolies. I really believe, he would not have carried things to the extremities he did, had he expected ever to have had his conduct impeached. He produced a copy of the company's letter, dated March 8, 1758. Indeed, at that time their infatuation was ſuch, that they looked upon his lordſhip as a prodigy of valour, the greateſt hero and ſtateſman of the age, as appears from the following extravagant encomiums on his ſervices, and that revolution, which will be a laſting monument of infamy.

"SIR,

"Our ſentiments of gratitude, for the many great ſervices you have rendered to this company, together with the thanks of the general court, have been hitherto conveyed through the channel of our general letters; but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had ſo great a ſhare of action, both in the cabinet and in the field, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning

turning you our moſt ſincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct and intrepidity, which you have ſo eminently exerted on this glorious occaſion; as well as for the great and ſolid advantages reſulting therefrom to the Eaſt-India company: we earneſtly wiſh your health may permit your continuance in India, for ſuch farther terms, as will give you an opportunity of ſecuring the foundation you have laid; as likewiſe to give your aſſiſtance in putting the company's mercantile and civil affairs in a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now tranſmitted. For this purpoſe, as well as in conſideration of your eminent ſervices, we have appointed you governor and preſident of Fort William in Bengal and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the general letter, by this conveyance; to which we have annexed an additional allowance of 1000l. a year, as a teſtimony of our great regard for you. His lordſhip who had expreſſed the utmoſt contempt on divers occaſions, for the opinion of the court of directors, was glad to produce this teſtimony in his favour; what an inconſiſtency with the illiberal abuſes of which he had been ſo prodigal on the blunders and miſconduct of thoſe managers of India affairs. It muſt be obſerved that after this revolution, the large ſums granted by the nabob to make good the loſſes of ſeveral inhabitants, were more than ſufficient to indemnify them, had lord Clive made an impartial and judicious diſtribution, and not diverted part of this public money to his own uſe and that of his creatures.

Although the nabob gave the company a crore of rupees, yet as the company, was at an im-

menſe expence of maintaining the ſettlement at Fulta, the military charges of the troops from Fort St. George and Bombay, and the hazard thoſe preſidencies had been expoſed to by drawing them off from thence : the charges of fortifications and rebuildings, replacing ſtores, increaſe of garriſons, the loſs of a ſeaſon's inveſtments, if not more, and many obvious particulars, were taken into the account, it would appear that the company were ſtill conſiderable ſufferers. Not only the money ſtipulated in the treaty with the nabob was ſufficient to indemnify the inhabitants of Calcutta for their reſpective loſſes, together with the intereſt thereon, but the company might have been benefited by a conſiderable ſurplus, if properly applied ; the directors inſtructions were to depoſit ſuch ſurplus in their caſh, to be expended in ſuch manner, as would tend to the general utility and ſecurity of the ſettlement ; lord Clive never made ſuch diſpoſition of the money, as he was directed by his employers.

In regard to the fictitious treaty, lord Clive informed the committee, that when Mr. Watts had nearly accompliſhed the means of carrying that revolution into execution, he acquainted him by letter, that a freſh difficulty had ſtarted ; that Omichund had inſiſted upon five per cent. on all the nabob's treaſures, and 30 lack in money ; and threatened if he did not comply with that demand, he would immediately acquaint Serajah Dowlah with what was going on, and Mr. Watts ſhould be put to death. That when he received this advice, he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purpoſes of ſuch a villain ; and that his lordſhip himſelf

himſelf formed the plan of the fictitious treaty, to which the committee conſented : it was ſent to admiral Watſon who objected the ſigning of it ; but to the beſt of his remembrance, gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Luſhington) leave to ſign his name upon it. That his lordſhip never made any ſecret of it ; thought it warrantable in ſuch a caſe, and would do it again a hundred times, and did it with a deſign of diſappointing the expectations of a rapacious man. That Omichund was employed as an agent to Mr. Watts, as having moſt knowledge of Serajah Dowlah's court, and had commiſſion to deal with three or four more of the court. He pretended not to know exactly the amount of the treaſures of Serajah Dowlah, but believed about three or four millions; that Mr. Luſhington was the perſon who ſigned admiral Watſon's name, by his lordſhip's order. He was at that time ſecretary to lord Clive. His lordſhip declared that he did not receive above 16 lack of rupees clear all in money, denying to have received any jewels. It appeared that the noble lord had tranſmitted to the company ſome account of the treaty with the nabob Meer Jaffier, but no copy of it ; it is amazing that an inſtrument of ſuch importance, ſhould have been delivered over without a copy being taken. The 13th article, his lordſhip pretended never to have recollected it till he was laſt in India. His lordſhip acknowledged having wrote to the directors that there was no ſuch article to the beſt of his knowledge. By that article, the company ſtood bound in alliance with Meer Jaffier. The inſtrument which the nabob ſigned contained only twelve articles, and that ſigned by the thirteen. The

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twelve articles were all in Perſian, and only the thirteen in Engliſh. Lord Clive's letter to the Dutch governor reſpecting the thirteenth article, was not entered into the public proceedings at Calcutta, though a public proceeding of a very important nature. Lord Clive having an independant command from the gentlemen at Calcutta, did not think proper in every circumſtance to tranſmit the particulars of his proceedings to them.

Captain Brereton, who was lieutenant with admiral Watſon in the Kent ſaid, that he had often heard the admiral ſpeak of the treaty that was to deceive Omichund; that it was propoſed to him to ſign this fictitious treaty to deceive Omichund of 30 lack, which he refuſed to do, as diſhonourable to him as an officer, and an affront to propoſe it to him: that is was propoſed ſome body ſhould ſign it for him, which he alſo refuſed, and ſaid he would waſh his hands of it, he would have nothing to do with it, he was a ſtranger to deception, they might do as they pleaſed. The depoſition abſolutely contradicts the aſſertion that Mr. Luſhington had authority from the admiral to ſign for him that fictitious treaty, as captain Brereton further declared, he had often heard the admiral ſay, he would not authoriſe any body to do it, adding, he was ſure the admiral had too good heart to put his ſeal to ſuch an inſtrument. Admiral Watſon heard from captain Martin, on his death bed, of his name having been to the fictitious treaty; and the ſecret committee had agreed to ſhare the thirty lack ſtipulated in the agreement with Omichund among themſelves, and excluding the admiral of his ſhare, becauſe he had not ſigned the treaty. The admiral ſaid, that he always

ways thought the connexion diſhonourable, and as there was ſo much iniquity amongſt mankind, he did not wiſh to ſtay any longer among them. This was juſt before his death, which happened the 10th of Auguſt, 1757, Captain Brereton ſaid, he was not preſent at this converſation, but in the next room; and that it was communicated to him by captain Martin, dead ſince, the moment he came out of the room. It ſeems the admiral never applied to the ſelect committee for a part of this money, but after his death, his executors did. Captain Brereton ſaid, the admiral did not mention the gentleman's name who propoſed to ſign the fictitious treaty, but ſaid with a ſneer, it was a member of the ſecret committee. That he had heard the admiral ſay, he thought it an extraordinary meaſure to depoſe a man with whom they had ſo lately made a ſolemn treaty; that, if he was inſtructed by the king to afford the Eaſt-India company aſſiſtance in their affairs, he aſſiſted them with forces according to his duty; that he always underſtood from the admiral's converſation, that he did ſign the real treaty, but never heard him ſay whether he approved of it or not. The admiral would never give his conſent to any tranſaction that he held diſhonourable, that ſhould inſinuate his approbation as deception.

Captain Brereton further ſaid, that he did not believe the Eaſt-India company could have ſucceeded in their different enterprizes, and particularly in effecting the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier, without the aſſiſtance of his majeſty's ſhips and troops. When the admiral declared, he had not

not ſigned the fictitious treaty (ſhrugging up his ſhoulders,) he alluded to colonel Clive and the ſelect committee, in concluding that he had left them to do as they pleaſed.

Sir Eyre Coote being called upon to give an account of the tranſactions in Bengal in the year 1757, that came within his knowledge ſaid, That he was a member of the council of war, previous to the battle of Plaſſey upon the 21ſt of June, when colonel Clive called the council together for their opinion, whether it would be prudent to come to an immediate action with the nabob, or fortify themſelves where they were, till they could be reinforced by the Marattas; the opinions of lieutenant colonel Clive, two majors and ten captains were againſt coming to an immediate action, for an immediate engagement were the opinions of major Eyre, Coote and ſix captains. The reaſon for Sir Eyre Coote's opinion in this council have been already explained, and having read a deſcription of the battle of Plaſſey, he gave an account of the attack upon Chandernagore, to ſhew the difference of loſs when acting againſt European or Indian forces; and it appeared, that the loſs was much more conſiderable at the attack of Chandernagore.

Being deſired to give his opinion whether without the aſſiſtance of the king's troops and ſhips in the whole of the tranſactions in 1757, the enterprizes would have ſucceeded? He ſaid, he had no idea that they could: and whether the army under colonel Clive alone could have taken Chandernagore without the aſſiſtance of the navy and king's troops? he ſaid the probability was againſt them.

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His lordſhip obſerved, that he had made ſome miſtake in a former part of his evidence; that he certainly ſhould not have declared that admiral Watſon had conſented to have his name put to the fictitious treaty, if he had not underſtood from Mr. Luſhington, but that he would have ordered his name to be put whether he had conſented or not.

The following extract of a letter from his lordſhip to the ſelect committee at Fort St. George, dated the 12th September, 1757, was read.

" It is with the deepeſt concern I acquaint you " of admiral Watſon's death, his zeal for the ſer- " vice of the company, and the extraordinary ſuc- " ceſs it was crowned with, both at Gerrah and in " the expedition, will make his memory, particu- " larly in India ſurvive to lateſt ages."

Lord Clive in evidence to the manner in which Meer Jaffier gave his jaghier, informed the committee, that the firſt letter he ever wrote about a jaghire, was to the beſt of his remembrance on the 31ſt of January 1759. As the nabob owed his lordſhip his government, he had been a means of having honours conferred on the colonel, in creating him an omrah of the empire; but that he had given him nothing to ſupport thoſe honours.

Lord Clive further informed the committee, that he applied to Juggut Seat, a banker, and a man of great weight and influence with the nabob, who preſented him in his name with the jaghier incloſed in a ſilken bag, in conſequence of having been made an Omrah, without this uſual appendage of his

his new dignity. In anſwer to which, he replied, that the nabob never granted jaghiers in Bengal; that Orixa was too poor, but that he might have one in Bahar. His lordſhip declared upon his honour that he never applied for any jaghire, either directly or indirectly, after that period; and that when the nabob preſented him the jaghire, near ſix months afterwards, he had not the leaſt idea of the amount of it, nor of its being the quit-rent upon the company's lands, till the patent explained it; that the amount of the jaghire was reckoned about 30,000l. a year. He ſaid, he had received the benefit of the jaghire from July 1759, to this day.

Lord Clive made a declaration, which ſhews he looked himſelf upon the nabob's armies as contemptible and licentious troops, that required very little military knowledge to conquer them. He ſaid, it is the cuſtom of that country never to pay the army a fourth part of what is promiſed them; and it is only in time of diſtreſs they can be paid at all; and for that reaſon the troops always behave ſo ill. That the troops of Meer Jaffier had mutinied, becauſe he could not pay them, as there were great arrears due to the army by Serajah Dowlah as well as Meer Jaffier, amounting to four milions ſterling. He ſaid, he had been informed that the nabob's jewels amounted to near a milion ſterling; that the worſt of them, worth about 50,000l. were ſent to Calcutta, and ſold there as part of the treaty money; and that the nabob made aſſignments of lands for fulfilling all the articles of the treaty, in the nature of mortgage: his lordſhip declared, that he was made an Omrah by his requeſt to Meer Jaffier, to make the application to the mogul. Some days after this evidence was given, lord Clive acquainted the committee,

mittee, that, upon recollection, he was miſtaken in the anſwer he made: being aſked, on whoſe application he was made an Omrah? that his anſwer to it now is, by Meer Jaffier's to the Mogul, and without application on his lordſhip's part.

Lord Clive acknowledged, that when Serajah Dowlah arrived, after his defeat at the city of Muxadavad, his palace was full of treaſure; but with all that treaſure he could not purchaſe the confidence of his army; and that he was employed in laviſhing conſiderable ſums among his troops to engage them to another battle, but to no purpoſe. That the day on which Meer Jaffier ſhould enter the city being fixed, his lordſhip made alſo his entry at the head of two hundred Europeans and five hundred ſeapoys. That the inhabitants who were ſpectators upon that occaſion, muſt have amounted to ſome hundred thouſands; and if they had had an inclination to deſtroy the Europeans, they might have done it with ſticks and ſtones. On that day, continued his lordſhip, being under no kind of reſtraint but that of my own conſcience, I might have become too rich for a ſubject; but I had fixed upon that period to accompliſh all my views whatever, and from that period to this hour, which is a ſpace of fifteen years, I have not benefited myſelf directly nor indirectly, the value of one ſhilling, the jaghire excepted; I have been placed in great and eminent ſtations, ſurrounded with temptations; the civil and military power were united in me; a circumſtance which has never happened to any other man before that time, or ſince: the committee will therefore judge whether I have been moderate or immoderate in the purſuit of riches. His

lordſhip had forgot the monopolies and other pecuniary tranſactions in which he was eſſentially concerned, the laſt time he was inveſted with the ſupreme power in the Bengal provinces. Lord Clive went on to relate, that Meer Jaffier being proclaimed nabob, and a day fixed upon to conſider the nabob's treaſures, and to ſee how far he could comply with the treaty immediately; after that ſtate was known, this matter was left to be decided by the Seats, two men of immenſe wealth and great influence; and it was agreed, that half ſhould be paid down, and the other half in three years. That at this meeting was Omichund; and when the real treaty came to be read, the indignation and reſentment expreſſed in that man's countenance, bars all deſcription. He ſaid, this cannot be the treaty, it was a red treaty that I ſaw; (meaning wrote upon red paper) that his lordſhip replied, "Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty." That this important buſineſs being accompliſhed, he returned to Calcutta with the army, and the Nabob (of his own making) ſoon began to fill his own greatneſs, and manifeſted evident deſigns of ſhaking of all dependence upon the Engliſh, and of evading the fulfilling the reſt of the treaty. That he diſmiſſed from his ſervice thoſe great men who had been the inſtruments of his greatneſs, and he put to death the only ſon of Serajah Dowlah. That as ſoon as the rains were over, he took the field without the company's aſſiſtance to quaſh three rebellions; but when he came ſeriouſly to conſider of his ſituation, he thought proper to call upon the Engliſh for aſſiſtance; and that his lordſhip marched immediately to join him. That at

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the city he had a meeting with the diſcontented chiefs, when he engaged to protect them in their perſons, and to uſe his influence to get them reſtored to favour. That this was eaſily accompliſhed, and he then inſiſted that he ſhould immediately pay down that part of the treaty-money, which was then due, and that he ſhould aſſign over lands, ſufficient in mortgage to ſecure the reſt. That no difficulty was found in ſubduing all his enemies, except Ramnarrain, who was the nabob of Bahar, and at the head of a great army, and would not acknowledge Meer Jaffier without the Engliſh ſecurity; which being given and a promiſe made, that he ſhould remain in his government, he came to the nabob and paid his obedience. That the country being now juſt ſettled, he returned to Calcutta, with an intention to embark for the Carnatic, and taking the firſt favourable opportunity of returning to his native country: but in the interim the chiefs arrived from Europe, which brought out the very ſtrange appointment of four governors, which was called a rotation-government, becauſe one governor was only to be as ſuch for three months. He had not the honour to be appointed one of thoſe governors: upon which the gentlemen who had that honour, as well as the reſt of the council who thought proper to deviate from the commands of their honourable employers. Alledging, that a rotation of governors for the future management of their affairs at the preſidency of Bengal, weighed with all its attending circumſtances, was repugnant to the true intereſt of the company, and the welfare of the ſettlement in general: that placing the preſidentſhip in ſome one perſon, was

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the cleareſt and eaſieſt method of conducting their concerns, as with us preſerving the influence the late revolution had given them, with the Subah of theſe provinces. That a rotation in the executive part of government, would be attended with great difficulties and inconveniencies when the treaty with the nabob was not perfected in all its branches, the poſſeſſions of the lands incomplete, the ſettlement in no poſture of defence, the French conſiderably reinforced with military and a fleet. Their deſigns with reſpect to Bengal hitherto unknown, and the impoſſibility of impreſſing a proper idea of this divided power in the minds of the Subah and others, accuſtomed to the government of a ſingle perſon.

The four gentlemen appointed governors acquieſced to this opinion, and were made ſenſible that ſuch a rotation in the executive part of government, would be extremely prejudicial to the real intereſt of the company. And, as lord Clive had been named head of the general committee, his friend Mr. Watts, who was with his lordſhip the principal inſtrument of the late revolution, that had proved ſo beneficial to the projectors, was determined to fix the preſidentſhip, in a ſingle perſon, namely, colonel Clive; perſuaded that this appointment would anſwer all the ſordid views and expectations of them both, till they heard further from Europe. After having made a pompous enumeration of colonel Clive's eminent ſervices, abilities and merit, and repreſented his ſuperior weight and influence with the Subah and his officers; he prevailed on the reſt of the council to make him an offer of being preſident of the company's affairs

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in Bengal, till the pleaſure of the directors ſhould be further known.

Lord Clive did not hefitate a moment to accept of a requeſt ſo agreeeble to his ambition; and ſoon after, he received his appointment from the court of directors themſelves, in conſequence of his magnified victory at Plaſſey. The noble lord, with his wonted modeſty aſſumes the principal merit of having reſtored the company's affairs upon the coaſt of Coromandel, when Mr. Lally arrived with ſuch a force as threatened not only the deſtruction of all the ſettlements there, but of all the Eaſt-India company's poſſeſſions; it is known that Madraſs muſt have ſhared the fate of Fort St. David, had not the French wanted money, which gave time for ſtrengthening and reinforcing the place, nobly defended by Mr. Pigot, general Lawrence, colonel Draper, Mr. Caillaud, major Brereton, &c. Indeed his lordſhip, contrary to the inclinations of his whole council, projected and luckily accompliſhed the ſcheme of depriving the French of the northern ſircars (whoſe revenues were computed to amount to 400,000l. a year.) But the compleat ſucceſs of this expedition was owing to the gallant colonel Ford, by whoſe courage and conduct, ſuperior to any thing that had happened during the courſe of the war, the French were totally driven out. As for the ſiege of Patna, which his lordſhip obliged the king's ſon to raiſe, every body knows that this puſillanimous beſieger fled at his approach.

The other ſucceſsful expedition of colonel Ford, who intercepted the Dutch in their march to Chinſura, was the conſequence of colonel Clive taking upon

upon himſelf to commence hoſtilities againſt a nation, with whom we were at peace, on a ſuſpicion that Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his creation, had encouraged them to come to Bengal. Indeed, his lordſhip ſuggeſted the danger of an invaſion, but colonel Ford was charged with the riſk to oppoſe it. After the deſign of the Dutch had been fruſtrated, by colonel Ford's activity, colonel Clive reſigned his government to Mr. Howell, and the military command to colonel Caillaud, and embarking on board a ſhip in February 1760, arrived in England in July.

Had the directors been acquainted, as they have been ſince, with captain Clive's firſt military exploits, and the lucky circumſtances that favoured them; this might have diſpenſed with the precious token of their eſteem, I mean that ſword ſet with diamonds, of which his lordſhip boaſted, in reading the minutes of the Eaſt-India company, with the reſolves of their repeated thanks to the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons. When they deſired him to give his conſent that his portrait or ſtature ſhould be taken, in order to be placed in ſome conſpicuous part of the India-houſe, that his eminent and ſignal ſervices to the company might be ever had in remembrance; they ſhould have been better informed and leſs precipitate, before they decreed ſuch honours to the heaven born general. The revolution affected by his policy, has proved ſince a diſgrace to the Britiſh nation. According to his own declaration, Meer Jaffier proved a treacherous ally, as he charged the nabob before the committee with having invited the Dutch into the

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Bengal provinces, and connived at their raiſing troops in the country.

Colonel Caillaud gave an account of what he knew of the tranſactions preceding the revolution in 1760, and what induced him to conſent to that revolution. He was called to Bengal in 1759, to take the command of the troops in the room of colonel Clive; and was informed, that the prince (called Shanzadda) was again preparing to enter the province of Bahar with a large army, and joined by ſeveral Zemindars of that province who had not taken part with him the year before. This proves that the revolution effected by the arts of colonel Clive and Mr. Watts promiſed nothing leſs than a permanent peace and ſecure poſſeſſion of the new acquiſions in Bengal.

The nabob of Parnia had taken the field on the Eaſtern bank of the Ganges; about half way between Patna and Muxadavad and his motives for ſo doing were; the umbrage he had taken at the late encroachments of the company, being inclined to join the prince, if a favourable opportunity offered. Colonel Clive judged it therefore expedient that he ſhould march with a detachment to Muxadavad, there to wait his arrival and his orders. Colonel Caillaud ſet out from Calcutta in December, with the detachment of 300 Europeans, 50 artillery, ſix pieces of cannon and a battalion of ſeapoys, conſiſting of about 1000 men, and arrived at Muxadavad the 26th. On the 6th of January Lord Clive and colonel Ford joined him. Lord Clive then introduced him to the nabob, recommended him to his friendſhip, and deſired he would repoſe all the confidence poſſible in colonel Caillaud

laud, who was well inclined and attached to his intereſt. On the 14th Lord Clive and colonel Ford ſet out upon their return. And on the 18th he began his march to Patna, joined by the nabob's ſon at the head of a large number of cavalry forces. There was a great many difficulties in ſetting out the expedition; the low ſtate of the nabob's treaſury obliged him to borrow money, as he could get it from the bankers in mortgaging countries for it. Colonel Caillaud reached a place oppoſite to which the nabob of Parnia was encamped. On the 30th, he had not declared his intentions openly; but ſaid, he was ready and willing to obey the nabob's orders in every thing; to pay all the revenues that were due, and to prove himſelf a faithful ſubject and ſervant. He was at the head of a large body of troops; and as the affairs of Patna were than ſituated, it was dangerous to have ſuch force in his rear, without knowing whether he could truſt them. The colonel endeavoured to ſettle matters between him and the nabob as well he could; he would except of no mediation but his; he would not ſee the young nabob, but took his ſecurity, that if he faithfully diſcharged all the demands the old nabob had on him for revenues due, he would endeavour to get the nabob's conſent that he ſhould remain in his command. This kept colonel Caillaud ſeven days, and at this time the prince was drawing near Patna. The ſubah of that province, had a conſiderable army under his command, beſides a battalion of our ſeapoys that was left in garriſon at Patna by lord Clive, who joined him upon that occaſion, and marchad out

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of the city with theſe forces. Colonel Caillaud repeatedly wrote to him, and preſſed him not to come to an action but wait his arrival, and had no doubt then of ſucceſs againſt the prince. However, he choſe to follow his own advice; he engaged the prince; two of his principal jamantdars deſerted him during the action; he was totally defeated and ſeverely wounded: four hundred of our ſeapoys marched to his aſſiſtance, when he was ſurrounded by the enemy, ſaved him, and were cut to pieces themſelves, with three European gentlemen, two officers, and one gentleman, a volunteer. The remainder of the battalion ſecured his retreat into Patna, which the Shauzadda immediately inveſted. The colonel, received the news of his defeat the 11th of February, and marched with all expedition in his power; ſuch as obliged him on the 15th to raiſe the ſiege of Patna; and on the 22d the two armies met and engaged. The young nabob follows quite a contrary diſpoſition to that colonel Caillaud wanted him to make, but he ſaved him in imminent danger, and the enemy was totally routed. The inſtant the engagement was over, the young nabob retired to his tent, on account of the wounds he had received. Colonel Caillaud requeſted and conjured him to give him ever ſo ſmall a body of cavalry, and with his Europeans and ſeapoys, fatigued as they were, he would do his beſt to purſue the enemy, and clear the country of them; he was deaf to all the colonel's intreaties. The handful of troops he was at the head of, were fatigued beyond meaſure with the forced marches he had made, put it quite out of his power to purſue the fugitives. Beſides out

of ſix pieces of cannon, which he had in the field, four broke down during the engagement, and ſome time was neceſſary to put theſe carriages in repair. At length, he perſuaded the nabob to leave the city of Patna on the 29th of February, and on the 2d of March he received advice that the prince was in full march for the province of Bengal. He had the advantage of a day's march of the army, as his conſiſted almoſt entirely of cavalry, unincumbered with baggage. On the 7th, colonel Caillaud got within ten miles of him; he marched off in the night, and took his way acroſs the mountains, to enter the province of Bengal in another part; a road through which no army before had ever marched: however, the colonel followed him, and on the 4th of April joined the old nabob who was in the field. On the 6th, with their united armies, they got ſo near the prince, that he propoſed to the nabob to give him a body of Cavalry, and ſome horſes to aſſiſt him in carrying the Europeans, who were exhauſted and ſpent with fatigue, and he would attack the prince in his camp that night: This he would not comply with, and the next day he came up however with the rear of their army, a river only dividing them; he again ſent repeated meſſages to the nabob to beg he would only march a body of cavalry to keep the enemy in play until he could come up with his infantry; but this he would never conſent to, and the enemy marched off unmoleſted; and in two days after took the ſame round into the province of Bahar. The colonel concerned for the ſafety of Patna, which he knew was deſtitute of troops, detached captain Knox, with 200 Europeans, a battalion of ſeapoys

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and two pieces of cannon, to march with all the expedition he poſſibly could for the relief of Patna, if the prince ſhould beſiege it: he came in time to ſave the city, on which the prince had made two general aſſaults, and was preparing for a third, when captain Knox arrived with ſome part of his detachment, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege a ſecond time. Colonel Caillaud remained in camp with the old nabob and his ſon until the 16th of May, when again he marched againſt the nabob of Parnea, whom the ſubah of Bengal had endeavoured to bring back to his duty, which the other refuſed, and would comply with none of his terms, broke his promiſe with the colonel, and was ſetting out with an intention of joining the prince. On the 22d, he again reached Patna, and croſſed the river there; but before that happened, captain Knox, whom he had ordered to march from Patna acroſs the river, to endeavour to ſtop the progreſs of the nabob of Purnea, ſo that he might get up with him, had taken a ſtrong and judicious poſt, and was attacked by the nabob's whole army, and maintained his poſt with great bravery.

On the 27th, the colonel came up with the enemy who had been retreating as faſt as they could; the young nabob with his army being two miles in the rear; the cannonading began between the two armies; he ſoon ſeized their cannon, diſlodged them from all their poſts, and would have obtained a complete victory, if the foot could have overtaken the cavalry, of which his army was chiefly compoſed; he had none of his own, and the nabob would not ſend him a ſingle horſeman: they continued purſuing the nabob of Purnea until the 3d of July; they

they were to have continued their march next day, when between one and two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Luſhington came into his tent with a meſſenger, and told the colonel the young nabob was dead; his ſurpriſe was beyond expreſſion, and having enquired how the accident happened, he was anſwer by a flaſh of lightning as he lay on his bed: in a few minutes after his Duan or prime miniſter came to the colonel in great diſtreſs, aſſuring him that if ſomething was not immediately done, the conſequence would be the plunder of the camp, and the nabob's troops marching off, whenever they thought proper. There was no way to prevent this accident, and the confuſion which muſt follow, but to endeavour to keep his death a ſecret from the army, in order to gain time to bring ſome of the jamantdars of the greateſt conſequence, and attach them to the intereſt of the company. The colonel ſent for one or two of theſe he could moſt confide in, told them the caſe, and requeſted as a mark of the regard they had for their old maſter to continue faithful in the ſervice of the old nabob, and to bring over by degrees, as many of the other jamantdars as they could to this way of thinking; he, on his part engaged to uſe all his endeavours with the old nabob, that all the arrears of pay and all the juſt demands they might have, ſhould be ſettled to their ſatisfaction. It was then agreed, that the army ſhould march back towards Patna, and give out that the young nabob was ill: this was performed in ſeven days, and during that time, except the people who were intruſted with the ſecret, the army had no knowledge of the young nabob's death.

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This was the concluſion of the colonel's campaign, who ſoon after his arrival at Patna received advice of Mr. Vanſittart's arrival at Calcutta, as governor.

Mr. Holwell who had ſucceeded lord Clive in the chair, only by virtue of his rank, in order of ſucceſſion; and the certainty of another governor being ſoon appointed, was known to the whole country; and of courſe, that degree of reſpect which the nabob would have had for a governor appointed by the company, was not paid to Mr. Holwell, who acted as preſident in the interim, of another's daily expected. Mr. Holwell ſoon ſaw this and reſented it. The nabob's weak and irreſolute character gave ſtill more diſguſt to Mr. Holwell, who had too much ſenſe to find fault with his councils and his meaſures. He became ſenſible that this man whom lord Clive had raiſed to the miſnud to ſerve his private views, was worſe in every reſpect than his predeceſſor; and wiſhed for another revolution. Thus every ſubſequent governor of Bengal actuated by private pique, or diſpleaſed at the public conduct of the nabob's appointed by the companies, thought he had a right to change the ſyſtem of the nabob's of Bengal's government, and even to depoſe them at pleaſure. Colonel Caillaud being applied to, as commander in chief, to ſecond the deſigns of Mr. Holwell, delivered his ſentiments on the ſubject, with the candour and freedom of an honeſt man, in the following terms.

"Bad as the man may be, whoſe cauſe we now ſupport, I cannot be of opinion, that we can get rid of him for a bettter, without running the riſk of

of much greater inconveniencies, attending on ſuch a change, than thoſe we now labour under. I preſume the eſtabliſhing tranquility in theſe provinces, would reſtore to us all the advantages of trade we could wiſh for, the profit and honour of our employers; and I think, we bid fair to bring that tranquilitity about by our preſent influence over the ſubah, and by ſupporting him, than by any change which can be made. No new revolution can take place without a certainty of troubles, and a revolution will certainly be the conſequence, whenever we withdraw our protection from the ſubah. We cannot in prudence neither, I believe, leave this revolution to chance; we muſt in ſome degree be inſtrumental to bringing it about; in ſuch a caſe it is very poſſible we may raiſe a man to the dignity, juſt as unfit to govern, as little to be depended upon, and in ſhort, as great a rogue as our nabob; but, perhaps not ſo great a coward, not ſo great a fool, and of conſequence much more difficulty to manage.

As to the injuſtice of ſupporting this man on account of his cruelties, oppreſſions, and his being deteſted in his government; I ſee ſo little chance in this bleſſed country of finding a man endued with the oppoſite virtues, that I think we may put up with theſe vices, with which we have no concern, if in other matters we find him fitteſt for our purpoſe.

As to his breach of his treaty, by introducing the Dutch laſt year, this I believe cannot admit a doubt. Colonel Clive before he left the country, ſeemed to excuſe what was ſuſpicious in his conduct in that affair, by giving out, it proceeded not from actual

actual guilt, but from the timidity of his nature. But if we ſtill ſuſpect him from further circumſtances, we always have it in our power to put it to the teſt at once, by making him act as he ought, whether he will or no.

With regard to drawing our ſwords againſt the lawful prince of the country, no man can more pity his misfortune than I have done, nor would any one be more willing and happy to be inſtrumental in aſſiſting him to recover his juſt right. But, ſuch a plan, is not the thought of a day, nor the execution of it the work of a few months; there is a powerful party ſtill remaining: the vizier with the Maratta's and Jutes, who notwithſtanding the conſtant ſucceſs of Abdallah againſt them, ſtill make head againſt him, and ſuch are their reſources and their numbers, that I believe they will at laſt oblige the Patan's to leave the country; for though they cannot beat them fairly out of the field, they bid fair to ſtarve them out of the country.

You have no doubt received advice from Mr. Haſtings, that Adallah has ſent orders to the ſeveral powers, to acknowledge the prince, king of Hindoſtan, by the name of Shah Allum; rupees are ſtruck by his order at Banaras and Lacknow, in that name; orders are alſo given to Sujah Dowlah, to accept the poſt of vizier; and our nabob has got, it is ſaid, inſtructions to acknowledge him, and pay him the obeiſance due to the king of kings, as he is ſtiled.

If we were perfectly ſure Abdallah would remain, as he ſays, until he ſaw the prince well fixed on the throne, and the peace and tranquility of the country reſtored; we might, I think, all join together, be

be a match for the Marattas; but we muſt be well aſſured that Abdallah will heartily engage, and when engaged in the cauſe, will firmly ſupport; for ſhould his appointment of his be more (as it is poſſible) than a finiſhing ſtroke to end his expedition with the eclat of having given us a mogul, and when a certain number of the country powers had entered into the alliance, he ſhould think of a return to his own country, and leave us to fight it out with the other contending party: I fear the vizier and the Marattas would be too ſtrong for thoſe who remained of the alliance, ſuppoſing them to be the Ruellah's, with Sujah Dowlah and the nabob of Bengal. However, ſuppoſing all this ſhould take place, why could this not be done with our nabob in our hand, ſtill his friends and his protectors?

The rains will give us time to negotiate, to ſee we go on ſure grounds, and make ſuch a plan of the alliance as will do us honour, and be an advantage to our country and our employers. But let us not abandon the nabob. Beſides the reaſons I have urged above, one more ſtill remains, which I believe will have ſome weight, and make us cautious how we attempt, without very ſtrong and urgent reaſons, any change in the preſent ſyſtem.

The cauſe which firſt gave riſe to the preſent ſhare of influence, which we enjoy in this part of the mogul empire is well known. A juſt reſentment for injuries received, was the firſt motive which induced us to make a trial of our ſtrength; our ſucceſſes enlarged our views, and made us chearfully embrace all opportunities of increaſing

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that intereſt and influence, both on account of the advantages which accrued from it to the honourable company ; as likewiſe, the hopes that it might in time prove a ſource of benefit and riches to our country : ſuch were, I believe, the motives of the honourable company, when they ſolicited and obtained colonel Coote's regiment from the government ; and ſuch, I am certain, is the plan which the colonel propoſes on his return to purſue and to ſupport, in hopes to convince the miniſtry, and the company, as he is convinced himſelf, that if they pleaſe to ſupport his project, it will prove of the greateſt advantage to the public.

All we can wiſh to do is, not to ſuffer the nabob to impoſe on us, and to check every beginning of an independence he may endeavour to aſſume. I think, we muſt put an end to our fighting ſyſtem, and talk coolly on affairs, &c."

However, colonel Caillaud approved in September a revolution, which he had diſapproved in May, and the motives of this ſeeming inconſiſtency, were, that the preſident of Bengal could not preſerve the aſcendency which lord Clive had over the nabob, which flowed from the ſenſe of the favours he had received from his maker. He declared, he had put off by delays, and ſometimes with reaſons every change of ſyſtem in the nabob's government, which though he adopted Mr. Holwell's plan in his mind, yet he was deſirous to wait till the arrival of a permanent governor. That till then, he thought of nothing but temporary expedients, formed to the day and to the minute. That the extraordinary death of the nabob's ſon had

made a great change in the ſituation of affairs in that country. The confidence he had in Mr. Vanſittart's abilities and judgment, made him without reluctance adopt his plan; he knew his motives, they were honeſt and diſintereſted as to himſelf; honourable and advantageous to his employers, and ſuch as the neceſſity of the times, the particular ſituation at Bengal, the general ſtate of the company's affairs throughout India, vindicated in his opinion. He declared before the committee of the houſe of commons, being aſked, whether twenty lack or any other ſum was ſtipulated for bringing about that revolution; that the night Coſſim Ally Khan ſigned the articles, for accepting the management of the affairs in Bengal, under Jaffier Ally Khan, (in the preſence, as he believed of Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Holwell and himſelf) the new vice-nabob, after expreſſing the many obligations he had for our intended good offices in his favour, tendered a paper to Mr. Vanſittart, which as this gentleman interpreted, contained a note for 20 lacks of rupees, payable to the gentlemen then preſent, who all concurred in deſiring Mr. Vanſittart, agreeable to the ſame diſintereſtedneſs he had profeſſed, to return that paper to Coſſim Ally Khan; telling him, that he miſtook their motives for his advancement. He preſſed on Mr. Vanſittart again the acceptance of the paper, telling him, that if they continued to refuſe that favour, he ſhould fear that the gentlemen preſent were not well pleaſed with the appointment. Mr. Vanſittart, who knew his own motives, as well as thoſe of the gentlemen in the committee, told Coſſim Ally Khawn, returning him the paper again,

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" When you have paid off all arrears due to the company, to your own troops, that the peace of this country is ſettled, and that your own treaſury is full; if then you think proper to make us any acknowledgment for the ſervices now done you, we ſhall not then be unwilling to accept ſuch marks, as you will be pleaſed to give us of your friendſhip." The affair ended there, and colonel Caillaud declared ſolemnly upon his honour, there was no ſtipulations, no partition treaty, or any thing of the kind mentioned then or after, to his knowledge of that tranſaction.

Colonel Caillaud ſaid, he little expected after thirteen years ſervice in that country, and nine of them in the field; that the little fortune he made, ſhould become the object of ſo public an enquiry; but, he was happy to meet this enquiry more than half way, and the more ſo, in this particular point; as perhaps it may give him an opportunity of doing juſtice to the memory of the man from whom he received ſingular favours, meaning Mr. Vanſittart, who conferred them with his uſual delicacy and generoſity; ſo that he knew not but to this minute, the ſum he received upon the occaſion, and that he was willing and ready to declare, may be charged to his account.

After Coſſim Ally Khan was placed in the government, he went up to the army at Patna, came down again, embarked for the coaſt in January 1761, remained there a year and an half, and coming back to Calcutta, called there upon extraordinary buſineſs. In October 1762, Mr. Vanſittart then going to Monghyr, told the colonel, " If I am happy enough to ſettle with the nabob

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the unfortunate differences that have ſubſiſted between him and my council, and, that I can with propriety remind him of the ſervices, you jointly did him; I ſhall certainly endeavour to ſerve you." Mr. Vanſittart went up to Monghyr, and embarked on board a ſhip for Europe in the year 1763. Colonel Caillaud received an account current from Mr. Vanſittart, in which he found credit for two lack of rupees, unſolicited as he had mentioned before, and much beyond his expectations; and this, upon his honour, was the whole he received directly or indirectly upon that occaſion; ſo little was money his object or thought, that he never enquired or knew what others might have got upon the ſame occaſion; and, that if money had been his object, he ſhould have been more curious in his inquiries. It is not ſtated in the account from Mr. Vanſittart, from whom the two lack came, but he ſuppoſed from Coſſim. He ſaid Coſſim took poſſeſſion of the houſe and effects of Meer Jaffier, after Jaffier had taken out every thing that he wanted. It appears that Meer Jaffier rather than conſent to the terms propoſed, ſent for Coſſim, and gave up the government to him immediately.

A member of the houſe being preſent, deſired to acquaint the committee, that he was chairman of the company at that time, and was the principal cauſe of colonel Caillaud's coming home, in order to do juſtice to a character he entertained a high opinion of; that the court of directors entered into a minute enquiry, when he was unanimouſly acquitted, and returned to India with higher honours.

Mr. Sumner ſtated his reaſons for aſſenting as a member of the ſelect committee, to the meaſure of depo-

poſing Meer Jaffier, and placing Coſſim ally Khan on the Maſnud; and ſaid, that without inſiſting on the public treaty on the part of Meer Jaffier, in the inſtance of the Dutch invaſion, and the many other doubtful parts of his conduct, the irregularities of his private life, or the crimes and cruelties with which he was charged; he would reſt the reaſons for his conduct on the neceſſity of the reformation, from the extreme difficulties and imminent dangers, the affairs of the company, as well as thoſe of the ſtate were reduced to by the jealouſies, indolence and inactivity of the nabob Meer Jaffier, and the bad adminiſtration and corruption of his miniſters, in the collection and diſſipation of the revenues; and adding to theſe, the inteſtine troubles through the whole country, he was of opinion and ſtill continued firm in the ſame, that it would have been impoſſible to have ſupported the ſyſtem of government then eſtabliſhed two months longer, and that embarked as they were with Meer Jaffier they muſt have inevitably ſhared in his ruin. Mr. Sumner wiſhed to have it underſtood, that when the committee firſt entered into negotiation with Meer Coſſim; the only idea was reformation in the miniſtry; not a revolution in the govermnent, and that it was the unexpected obſtinacy of Meer Jaffier alone, not an original deſign of the committee, that placed Meer Coſſim on the Maſnud; that he believed it was a circumſtance as little thought of by Mr. Vanſittart as by himſelf, when he left Calcutta, on his viſit to the nabob, for the purpoſe of thoſe reformations; but, he readily admitted the neceſſity of the ſubſequent change made by Mr. Vanſittart, every part of which, from his intimate knowledge

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of the man, he gave the fulleſt credit to. He repeated, that he was and ſtill remained of opinion, that the deſtruction of Meer Jaffier's government made the intended reformation neceſſary, and having gone full lengths, there was no room for receding; and that, on the whole, he flattered himſelf when all matters were duly weighed, his conduct would ſtand juſtified in the opinion of every candid and impartial man, whether he was conſidered as a ſubject of this kingdom, or as an immediate ſervant of the company.

The Dutch being alarmed at the daily encroachments of the Engliſh company, and foreſeeing the precarioufneſs of their eſtabliſhments on the Coromandel coaſt, ſhould the nabobs of Bengal be reduced to the ſtate of abjection, they have been of late years brought to; Mr. Biſdom, director of Chinſura, wrote to the nabob Jaffier Ally Khan divers letters, the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

"Our ſettlement was eſtabliſhed here long before the Engliſh, and other nations entered this kingdom, of which we were eye-witneſſes. Our power was then greater, as well as our trade; but now we perceive, that both our power, intereſt, and wealth are loſt, whilſt that of other nations daily increaſe. In this caſe, what courſe have we left? our diſhonour and ſhame is almoſt inevitable.

For this reaſon, and for the ſecurity of our poſſeſſions, as well as for the ſervice of your excellency, I have ſent for troops into this country: you are our maſter and ſovereign, and therefore I hope for your protection, and wait your order to bring our troops to this place. I beg to obſerve, that nothing but the law of the ſtrongeſt could prevent

vent the Dutch from ſending reinforcements to Chinſura, as the event ſhewed it, and they acknowledged no other ſovereigns than the nabobs of Bengal, conſequently they had the ſame right as the Engliſh to augment the garriſons of their eſtabliſhment for their ſecurity, and lord Clive took upon himſelf to oppoſe them by military force in open violation of the peace betwixt the two nations. However, it ſeems that even Meer Jaffier himſelf, the creature of lord Clive, did befriend the Dutch in ſecret, and was more apprehenſive of the Engliſh power, than of a Dutch invaſion.

As our nation, continued the Dutch director, has always been encouraged by the favour of your excellency, and more particularly from that time, when having a favourable regard to our company's buſineſs, you repeatedly aſſured our chief of Caſſimbuzar, of your attachment; conſidering theſe circumſtances, I was extremely ſurpriſed, that your excellency during your reſidence at Calcutta entered into an agreement, that you would ſtrengthen the fort of Maha Tenna, in order to prevent the Dutch from coming this way, and alſo give a note to the Engliſh, directing them to oppoſe the coming up of our army. All theſe things conſidered, it ſeems plain to us, that your excelleecy did not enter into the agreement, or gave this order from any ill opinion of us, but it is all to be imputed to the overbearing and rapacious ſpirit of the Engliſh: but, if any one enters into an agreement through force or diſtreſs, and afterwards does not abide by it, he will ſtand juſtified by the laws of God and man, particularly the governor of a kingdom, who wiſhes for nothing elſe, but the good of his country

try and the proſperity of his people. I am therefore in hopes, through your juſtice and favour, that you will recede from your agreement and order, and that we ſhall obtain an order from your excellency, for bringing up of our army; and alſo, that a poſitive order may be given to the Engliſh on no account to moleſt them; for we ſent for the ſaid army into this country, in conſequence of your direction. The king's revenues are greatly detrimented, and the country almoſt ruined, and of this you can only look upon the Engliſh as the ſole cauſe. Our nation formerly brought conſiderable ſums of money into this kingdom, and did not carry any; and now the Engliſh are ſo powerful, that no trade can be carried on by us, for which reaſon no money now arrives, and the Engliſh yearly remit conſiderable ſums. By this means the revenues of the country are greatly decreaſed, and therefore how will you be able, without great difficulty, to maintain your forces? and when your enemies come upon you, you will not then be capable of oppoſing them: this time if you will favour the company they will ever be at your command, and your preſent anxiety and uneaſineſs may be removed. Your excellency cannot take a better ſtep, and I hope you will take this into your favourable and ſerious conſideration, and return me a proper anſwer.

The troops were brought here for the ſecurity of the ſhips: this I acquainted your excellency of ſeveral times. During their ſtay in camp, they moleſted no man, nor had any diſturbances with the country people: this alſo you are well aſſured of; it was never my intention they ſhould fight, but

but the Engliſh hoiſted Moors colours, and immediately came down upon them, and a battle enſued. I was deſirous that ſome advantage ſhould ariſe to the riots from the ſale of the goods when they were brought up; and intended to have landed on board the ſhips, the ſalt-petre and other goods that were bought, and with the people that came here, diſpatch them to Europe; but the Engliſh would not permit the boats to paſs. I am willing to act up to our agreement, and hope your excellency will adhere to it alſo: in this we entirely depend on your favour. The company have for a long time carried on trade here; and therefore earneſtly deſire you will continue to them your favour and protection, as we are not able of ourſelves to root out our enemies."

Indeed the nabob of Bengal was bound by the ſecond article of the treaty, to prevent any ſhips or troops of the Dutch coming into Bengal, and certainly the Dutch would have acted as our enemies had they been permitted to introduce ſeven or eight hundred Europeans: the pretended hoſtilities were but repriſals for the injuries they had received from the Engliſh company. The ſtrength of the Dutch before that operation, in all their factories amounted to about 150 military men, which was not ſufficient to protect them.

In the courſe of the examination before the ſelect committee appointed by the houſe of commons, in regard to preſents received by the company's ſervants at the revolution, which placed Coſſim Ally Khan on the Miſnud; Mr. Sumner confirmed in his depoſition Mr. Vanſittart's diſintereſtedneſs; the witneſs declared the cauſe of his diſmiſſion

from the company's ſervice, was his having ſigned a letter to the court of directors, as one of their council among many others, wherein they expoſtulated on what they thonght harſh and undeſerved treatment; that this letter gave the directors ſuch umbrage, that every man in India who had ſigned it, was diſmiſſed without the leaſt regard to the merits or length of their ſervices.

Several months after Coſſim's eſtabliſhment, Coja Petruſe, the nabob's agent in Calcutta, preſented Mr. Sumner in the name of the nabob, with 10,000l. from the time of his diſmiſſion, to his leaving Bengal. The 20th of January 1762, he received further, and in the like manner at different times the ſum of 18,000l. This was a free and voluntary gift, as by far the largeſt part of the preſent was received after his diſmiſſion. Mr. Sumner conſidered the tranſaction honourable, and never made a ſecret of it. Mr. Holwell who was of the council, received two lack and 70,000 rupees; Mr. Mac Guire one lack and 80,000; Mr. Culling Smith one lack and 34,000; Major Yorke, who commanded the detachment immediately attendant on Meer Coſſim, one lack and 34,000. It was not known, whether Mr. Vanſittart received any thing, as he had declined receiving the nabob's firſt offer on account of the exigencies of the ſtate which were preſſing, and had declared to Coſſim, that if when the company was ſettled, he found himſelf in a ſituation to gratify his friends as he thought proper, he would for his part, under ſuch circumſtances, freely accept any token of his regard, and ſuppoſed the other gentleman would do the ſame. Indeed, conſidering that preſents are

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received indiſcriminately in India, and that ſelf intereſt is the only motive of actions there; Mr. Vanſittart's generous refuſal on this occaſion cannot be too much commended.

As Meer Jaffier at the time of the revolution, had not diſcharged his debt incurred by his treaty with the company in 1757, a balance remained due, for which when the aſſignments in the Burdwan country were given up, the company received jewels and other effects, which were conſidered as full ſecurity, not as payment.

It ſeems the nabob Coſſim Ally Khan, had ſuffered much uneaſineſs by Mr. Vanſittart's refuſal of the obligation of 20 lack of rupees, and ſaid, he apprehended Mr. Vanſittart and the council were not ſo much his friends as he wiſhed; upon which, Mr. Vanſittart gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of his ſincerity.

The caſe of Ramnarain having been a ſubject of enquiry, the circumſtances relating to him are, that he was a very able man, but very avaritious, and he had the credit of being very wealthy, which was a motive, ſufficient for Coſſim Ally Khan to wiſh to have him in his power. He had been always an object of the nabob's jealouſy, and even Meer Jaffier wiſhed to have hold of his treaſury; however, my lord Clive, by a ſecret agreement, had ſecured him from any injuſtice of that nature, and it was deemed a point of policy to ſupport Ramnarain; the engagements entered with him by lord Clive, were obſerved by major Carnac, in conſequence of Mr. Vanſittart's orders. The plea of Ramnarrain being in arrears, was the pretext always made uſe of for oppreſſing him; but without

out foundation, for he always seemed ready to come to a fair and equitable account. The governor and council thought proper afterwards to give contrary directions respecting that unfortunate man. Whilst major Carnac was at the head of the company's forces, refused absolutely, for reasons better known to himself, to obey such orders, alledging this was a dishonourable act to deliver this man to his enemy.

Colonel Coote having succeeded major Carnac in the command of the army, pursued the same measures with respect to Ramnarain. The colonel gave his opinion of his disapproval of the revolution in favour of Coffim, as a measure he thought would be productive of the loss of the reputation of all persons concerned in it.

Upon colonel Coote's arrival in Bengal, he found there two different parties of the council; the one that had formed the revolution, and the other that disapproved of it, and as the affair had happened, however unfortunate, he thought it might prove, he made it his business to endeavour to reconcile the two parties, with a resolution at that time, not to interfere in any matter of business or politics, where he thought no honour was to be gained. However, he was over persuaded by Mr. Vansittart and the other gentlemen of his party, (as a measure which they imagined would be of great service to the company) to go up to the army at Patna; accordingly, he desired they would give him instructions to proceed by. It plainly appears by them, That the governor and council had two objects in view in sending him there; one was the fixing a plan of operation upon the supposition that they

they ſhould be able to conduct the Mogul to Dehly; the other to ſecure and protect Ramnarain in the province of Patna. Upon his arrival at Patna, he applied with the cloſeſt attention to the buſineſs upon which he was ſent there, and informed the Shawzadda of the ſentiments of the board towards him; and the deſire the Engliſh had to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, which he ſeemed very ſenſible of, and very deſirous of having; at the ſame time, deſiring that he might be proclaimed and acknowledged by us, as he had been by different powers in Indoſtan: the Shawzadda thought it very extraordinary, that where he himſelf reſided, there he was not acknowledged. Colonel Coote informed Ramnarain, that he had orders from the governor and council to protect him, provided he would ſettle his accounts with the nabob, and therefore deſired him immediately to ſet about it, informing the nabob of the ſame. During theſe tranſactions the colonel received a letter from the board, recommending it to him to proclaim the king: he found that an immediate compliance to this requeſt, might prove of fatal conſequence to the nabob, and to the company at that time; for he had given away ſeveral of the beſt provinces to different people that belonged to him, particularly Purnea; he therefore thought it, to the beſt of his judgment, for the advantage of the company and the nabob, as it was the prince's inclination to let him go to Sujah Dowlah; at the ſame time he had got the nabob to conſent to that meaſure, and to pay a viſit with him to the prince; that it was thought adviſeable, both by the nabob and ſeveral of the company's ſervants who were preſent, that

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the nabob for himſelf, and colonel Coote on behalf of the Engliſh, ſhould coin the ſiccas, and acknowledge him Mogul on the day that he ſhould paſs the boundary of the province; this he ſeemed ſatisfied with, and it was agreed, that major Carnac with part of the army ſhould eſcort him; the major informing colonel Coote, in proper time of the day he ſhould join Sujah Dowlah, in order that the might keep his promiſe; the nabob conſenting entirely to all this matter; and at the ſame time agreed, that if they proſecuted the expedition, and ſettled matters with Sujah Dowlah, that he would advance the ten lack towards the payment of the company's forces. The king was but a few days gone, when the nabob ſeemed to alter his ſentiments entirely, with regard to the promiſes he had made, and turned his thoughts towards the ſeizing of Remnarain; for which, if colonel Coote would give him up, he offered him ſeven lack and a half of rupees, and whatever he pleaſed to the gentlemen of his family; this, the Colonel communicated by letter to the governor and council. The nabob finding he could not gain his point, with regard to Ramnarain; then thought it neceſſary to write the governor, Mr. Vanſittartt, the moſt ſcandalous invectives and falſe accuſations againſt the colonel, and was determined, that he would not declare the king; they had both given their words of honour for doing it. The nabob had then a large army encamped on the outſide of Patna. Colonel Coote was in the city and from the detachment which he had made, and which were ſent for, the collection of the revenues with major Carnac; he had not then

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under his command above 150 Europeans, 70 of which were in the hoſpitals, and about 300 ſeapoys; he was with this force to protect Ramnarain, the city, and to defend his own honour. The nabob knowing his weakneſs, thought it a proper opportunity to get poſſeſſion of the city. He applied to the colonel for leave to come into the fort of the city, the day before the Mogul was to be proclaimed; to which colonel Coote agreed, and he ſeemed thoroughly ſatisfied, provided he only brought in the attendants about his perſon; this he conſented to: the night, before the Mogul was to be proclaimed the nabob, ſent the colonel word, that he would not proclaim him, nor come into the city, unleſs he had the gates delivered up to him, which he would by no means conſent to; at the ſame time, the colonel informed him, that he had given his honour for declaring the Mogul on ſuch a day, and that he would have the ceremony performed in the city, which would not appear proper in the eyes of the country, as he was ſubah of the province, and begged to have a conference upon the ſubject, which the nabob declined; the colonel was informed by his ſpies, that that very night the nabob's camp was all in motion, and his artillery brought towards the city.

Colonel Coote ſent next morning to one of his chief miniſters, to learn the reaſon of ſuch a movement, and the meaning of the nabob, which he told him was done by Coja Gregery, who was his head general; and he was not afraid to ſay, at the Durbar that it would be productive of miſchief. Finding the next night the ſame movements and diſturbances in his camp, the colonel thought it neceſ-

neceſſary to go the next morning himſelf, and to ſee him if poſſible; accordingly, he ordered a company of ſeapoys and a troop of thirty horſemen, to get themſelves in readineſs by ſix in the morning, at which hour he ſent Mr. Watt's to inform the nabob of the colonel's coming. It was ſeven before he arrived at his tent, and Mr. Watt's informed him, that the nabob was not to be ſeen; he had ſent to him, but had not ſeen him: he went into the out r tent, taking piſtols in his hands for his own ſecurity and ſat down there till he ſhould hear farther; as it is a cuſtom in India, when they mean ill to a perſon that viſits them in camp, to cut the tent cords, and let the tent fall on the perſon they mean to deſtroy; colonel Coote deſired captain Iſer to place two of the troopers round the tent, to prevent any miſchief of that kind, and finding the nabob would not ſee him, he rode away, and left Mr. Watts to inform him of his buſineſs: this the nabob repreſented to the governor and council, as a grievous inſult, for which the colonel received ſevere letters from the board, and at his return to Calcutta, he deſired a ſtrict enquiry might be made, which was done, being honourably acquitted of the nabob's falſe imputations. The colonel had been ordered to withdraw the protection from Ramnarain, which he did accordingly: he was ſoon after murdered and his treaſure ſeized.

Colonel Munro's depoſition before the ſelect committee appointed by the houſe of commons, coincides perfectly with this excellent officer's character and reputation, as a man of great honour and veracity, a great diſciplinarian, whoſe military

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ſkill and conduct joined to a cool intrepidity quelled the mutinous ſpirit of the army, which he led afterwards to victory. His evidence extremely intereſting in every particular is in ſubſtance as follows:

"He was in April 1764, under the king's orders, from his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate and war, to return to Europe, with ſuch of his majeſty's troops as did not chuſe to enliſt into the company's ſervice; but, before he embarked for Europe, two expreſſes arrived from Bengal, acquainting the governor and council at Bombay, that Sujah Dowlah and Coſſim Ally Khan had marched into the province of Bengal at the head of 60,000 men. Major Adams who commanded the army was dead; that the ſettlement of Calcutta was in the utmoſt conſternation, and the company's affairs in the utmoſt danger; they therefore requeſted that the governor and council would apply to him to go round immediately to take the command of the army with his majeſty's troops, and as many as could be ſpared from the preſidency of Bombay. As his majeſty's intention in ſending out troops to India, was to aſſiſt and defend the company in their different ſettlements, he complied with the requeſt, and arrived at Calcutta with his majeſty's troops, and a detachment from Bombay ſome time in May. Mr. Vanſittart who was then governor, acquainted him, that the army under the command of major Carnac had been upon the defenſive, ſince the death of major Adams; and Sujah Dowlah, with his army having invaded the province; he retreated before the enemy. Mr. Vanſittart requeſted colonel Munro to join with the troops he had carried from Bombay, to join the army who were in cantonment at Patna, and take

the command of them. He found the army, Europeans as well as ſeapoys mutinous, deſerting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding an augmentation of pay and large ſums of money, which they ſaid had been promiſed them by the nabob: and diſobedient to all orders, 400 of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy ſome time before he joined the army. This being the ſituation the army was in, he fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous diſpoſition in them, before he would attempt to conquer the enemy. He accordingly went with a detachment of the king and company's Europeans from Patna, with four pieces of artillery to Chippera, one of the cantonments. The very day the colonel arrived, a whole battalion of ſeapoys with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached about 100 Europeans, and a battalion of ſeapoys, whoſe officers told him, they thought they could depend upon them not to deſert, with two field pieces, to endeavour to come up with the deſerters, and bring them back to him; the detachment came up with them in the night time, found them aſleep, took them priſoners, and carried them back to Chippera. The officer who commanded the detachment ſent him an expreſs, acquainting him with the hour he would arrive at Chippera with the priſoners. The colonel was ready to receive them with the troops under arms; upon their arrival, at Chippera, he immediately ordered their officers to pick him out fifty of the men of the worſt characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion to deſert to the enemy; they did pick out fifty, he deſired them to pick him out twenty-four

four men of thoſe fifty of the worſt characters: he immediately ordered a field court-martial to be held by their own black officers, and after repreſenting to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, deſired they would immediately bring him their ſentence; they found them guilty of mutiny and deſertion, ſentenced them to ſuffer death, and left the manner to him. Colonel Munro ordered immediately four of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns, and the artillery-officers to prepare to blow them away. There was a remarkable circumſtance, four grenadiers repreſented as they always had the poſt of honour, thought they were entitled to be firſt blown away; the four battalion-men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away; upon which the European officers of the battalions of ſeapoys, who were then in the field, came and told him, that the ſeapoys would not ſuffer any more of the men to be blown away. He ordered the artillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape ſhot, and draw up the Europeans with the guns in their intervals; deſired the officers to return at the heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and if one of them attempted to move, he would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the ſame as if they were Serajah Dowlah's army. They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to take them up again, upon which he ordered ſixteen more of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the ſame as the firſt, which was done. He immediately ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a deſertion of the ſeapoys ſome time before, with poſitive or-

orders to the commanding officer at that cantonment to blow them away in the same manner as the guns, which was accordingly done, and which put an end to the mutiny and desertion.

The colonel took the field after the rains, and fixed the 15th of September for the rendezvous of the troops from their different cantonments. A couple of days before the army marched, he had intelligence that the enemy had advanced several parties of horse, and had thrown up some breastworks on the banks of the Soane, to impede the crossing of the troops. He ordered Major Champion with a detachment and four field pieces, to march, and cross the Soane, some miles below where the army was to cross: after fixing with him the hour and day that he intended to arrive at the Soane with the army; the colonel desired that he might be at that time on the other side, and endeavour to dislodge the enemy, and cover the landing of the troops. He was so punctual in executing his orders, that he began to fire upon the enemy just as the van of the army appeared upon the banks of the Soane, and soon dislodged them, by which means the whole army in four hours was landed on the other side, without the least molestation. The colonel continued to march on towards Buxar, where the enemy was. The last two or three days the line of march was a good deal harrassed by the enemy's cavalry, so much, that two serjeants, and six or seven men of the advanced guard were killed. On the 22d of October, he arrived at Buxar, and encamped with the army just without range of the enemy's shot; and upon Colonel Munro's going to reconnoitre their situation with some of the field officers, he found the greatest part of them en-

entrenched, with the Ganges upon their left, and the fort, or village of Buxar, on their rear; he intended to have attacked their camp about one or two in the morning of the 23d, and ſent out ſpies to bring him ſome intelligence, to know whether he could bring his artillery on the right of their camp, reſolving not to attack them on their left, that he might have a better chance to drive the enemy into the Ganges; he likewiſe wanted to know, in what part of their encampment the force of their artillery lay, and where the vizier and Coſſim Ally Khan's tent ſtood. The ſpies did not return to camp till twelve at night; they reported, that the enemy were under arms all night, moving their artillery, and ſending off their women and treaſure in the night. Colonel Munro went immediately with ſome other officers to look at their diſpoſition; many of their troops were under arms, but not out of their entrenchments. The colonel and the officers who had accompanied him, thought they only meant to ſhew themſelves, in order to ſtrike a terror into the Engliſh troops, never imagining they would quit their lines in order to attack them, as a black army never before attacked a European army; the Britiſh commander returned to the camp, wiſhing the enemy would come out and attack him, for his army was encamped in order of battle. About eight o'clock in the morning, the field officer of the day came into the colonel's tent, and acquainted him that the enemy's right was in motion, and he was ſure they meant to attack him; he immediately went out with a reconnoitering glaſs in his hand, and judged the ſame by the diſpoſition of the enemy: upon which he ordered the drums to beat immediately to arms, which

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was done, and the troops advancing from their encampment, and were in a few minutes ready to receive them. The action lasted from nine till twelve, the enemy then gave way, went off very slowly, blowing up several tumbrels, and three large magazines of powder as they went off.

Colonel Munro immediately ordered the line to break into columns and pursue. The enemy had a bridge of boats over a rivulet, two miles from the field of battle, they pierced the boats, and sunk them before the rear of their army got over, by which means there were about 2000 of them drowned and sinking in the mud; that was the best piece of generalship Sujah Dowlah shewed that day, because, if the colonel could have crossed the rivulet with the army, he would either have taken or drowned his whole army in the Caramnassa, and come up with his treasure and jewels, and these of Cossim Ally Khan, which amounted to between two and three millions.

The strength of the English army at this battle was as follows:

Europeans in battalion rank and file, 746, of which 240 were king's troops; artillery men 71, European cavalry 40, in all European 857, exclusive of officers; seapoys, rank and file, 5,297; black cavalry, 918, in all 7,092; train of artillery, 20 field pieces. European officers killed, two; wounded, seven; European soldiers killed, 34; wounded 49; non-commission officers killed, three; wounded six; European killed and wounded, 101; seapoys killed, 205; wounded 414; missing, 85; black cavalry, killed 45; wounded 24; killed and wounded, 847; artillery taken in

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the field, 133 pieces of different ſizes, all upon carriages, and moſt of them Engliſh. The enemy were no leſs than 40,000, excluſive of thoſe drowned, 2000 of them were killed in the field of battle. As there were no ſurgeons to dreſs thoſe of the Engliſh army that had been wounded, and give them aſſiſtance, Colonel Munro went for five days ſucceſſively to every man of the enemy's wounded in the field, and gave rice and water to ſuch as would take, which was all he could give them. The army remained at Buxar for ſeveral days, until hoſpitals were provided for the wounded, and to bury the dead. He then marched the army into Sujah Dowlah's country, and ſent an expreſs to Calcutta for farther directions from the governor and council. The Mogul, Shah Allum, wrote him a letter the day after the battle, giving him joy of the victory over the vizier, who had kept him as a ſtate priſoner, and deſiring I would take him under my protection, and acquainting me, that though he was with the vizier in camp, he had left him the night before the battle. Colonel Munro anſwered, that he would immediately ſend an expreſs to Mr. Vanſittart, the governor at Calcutta, but that he would not take him under protection until I knew how far ſuch a ſtep might be proper, and for the intereſt of the company. He ſent to the colonel and wrote to him repeatedly before he had an anſwer from Calcutta, deſiring the colonel to come to him, for he had ſomething very particular to communicate to him. The colonel at laſt ſent him word, that he would wait upon him, provided he would not look upon himſelf as under the Engliſh protection; to which he conſented.

ſented. When colonel Munro waited upon the Mogul, he told him, that if the Engliſh would take him under protection, he would give them Sujah Dowlah's country, or any thing elſe they pleaſed to demand, and repeated many grievances and hardſhips that Sujah Dowlah lay him under, and ſaid, he was only his ſtate priſoner. The colonel continued his march with the army towards Banaras, and the Mogul continued to march with his guards, and encamped every night, pretty cloſe to our encampment. Before the army arrived at Banaras, colonel Munro had an anſwer from the governor and council, who conſented, that the king ſhould be taken under protection. Upon the army's arriving at Banaras, Sujah Dowlah ſent him his miniſter Beney Bahadre, with overtures of peace, which the colonel refuſed, becauſe he inſiſted upon it in the firſt inſtance, that the nabob would deliver him up, Coſſim Ally Khan and Sumro, the former had ordered ſo many of the ſubjects of Great Britain to be maſſacred, and the latter undertook to put the horrid crime in execution, when no man in the nabob's army would undertake it but himſelf. Sumro was a German, and a general officer; and had been before a ſerjeant in the French ſervice, deſerted from them to the Engliſh, and from them to Coſſim Ally Khan. He commanded Sujah Dowlah's army at the battle of Buxar, and had three or four hundred French deſerters from the Engliſh army under his command. Bena Bahadre told the colonel, Sujah Dowlah never could think of giving up Coſſim Ally Khan, or Sumro, but if he paſſed from that demand, he might have any other terms he pleaſed; he ſaid,

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Sujah Dowlah would give 25 lack of rupees, to defray the expences the company had been at in the war; 25 lack to the army, and eight lack for the colonel. This he told him, in the preſence of captain Stables and Gordon, who were his aid-de-camps: Mr. Stewart, the colonel's ſecretary and interpreter. His anſwer was; if the vizier gave me all the lacks in his treaſury, I would make no peace with him, until he had delivered me up thoſe murdering raſcals; for I never could think that my receiving eleven or twelve lack of rupees, was a ſufficient atonement for the blood of thoſe unfortunate gentlemen that were murdered at Patna, nor a ſufficient atonement to the grief of their parents, friends and relations; theſe were his words. Upon this, Bene Bahadre, and he parted. He returned a ſecond time, with aſſurances from Sujah Dowlah, that if colonel Munro made peace with him, he would put him upon a method of laying hold of Coſſim and Sumro, and made uſe of all the perſuaſive arguments he could to induce him to make peace. The colonel, ſtill inſiſted upon his firſt preliminary: Bene Bahadre deſired, if that was the caſe, that he would permit captain Stables, who ſpoke the country language, to return with him to the nabob's camp; that the nabob wanted to ſpeak to captain Stables. The colonel, told the captain, that as he was fully determined never to depart from the vizier, giving up Coſſim, and Sumro in particular, he did not wiſh or adviſe him to go, for that they might uſe him the ſame way as the other unhappy gentlemen at Patna. Captain Stables replied, that he would with pleaſure riſk his own life, could he be the inſtrument of bringing theſe

two to be made public examples of. He accordingly went to the nabob's camp with Bene Bahadre, and when the captain returned, he told the colonel, that ſince the vizier found he was fully determined to have Coſſim and Sumro, in regard to Coſſim, he would for no conſideration whatſoever deliver him up, but let him eſcape; but as to Sumro, if he ſent two or three gentlemen from the Engliſh camp who knew Sumro, he would aſk him to an entertainment, and in the preſence of theſe gentlemen, he would order him to be put to death. He offered captain Stables a ſum of money, to endeavour to prevail upon the colonel to agree to his terms; but, as he never would, the next thing to be conſidered was, the manner of driving Sujah al Dowlah entirely out of his country, who was then at Lucknar with the remains of his army; and to conſider of the manner of ſettling his country. Colonel Munro, wrote toCalcutta to the governor and council, and ſent them a letter he had received from the king much about this time; propoſing that he ſhould have ſo much of Sujah Dowlah's country, and cede the reſt to the company, requeſting him to make no peace with Sujah Dowlah. He deſired to know the directions of the governor and council with regard to this matter, acquainting them likewiſe, that he was determined to leave the army ſo as to return to Calcutta, to embark with the laſt ſhip that ſhould ſail that ſeaſon with his majeſty's troops. The governor and council ſent a copy of a treaty to be executed by the king, which was done accordingly, preſent the chief of Patna, &c.

Colonel Munro left the army, January the 6th 1765, and met major Carnac upon his way to take the

the command; he told him, what his plan of operations would be, had he remained in the command. He held it as a rule, never to be departed from in that country, not to come to a general action with the army, except where every thing is at ſtake, as he was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Sujah Dowlah's country, he had determined to remain ſome time longer in the camp, as the vizier's army muſt of courſe diſperſe when his money was out. He propoſed afterwards, to have marched the army towards Lucknar, and to have riſked a battle to take poſſeſſion of this place and Illahabad; major Carnac ſaid he would follow the ſame plan His campaigns mentioned before, have ſhewn how much his military conduct differed from that of colonel Munro, by whoſe prudence, ſagacity and reſolution, the governor, council and all the ſervants at the company's ſettlements in Bengal and elſewhere, were freed from all apprehenſions, of Sujah Dowlah and Coſſim, as the victory of Buxar, had put it out of their power to invade the company's territories. Their inveſtments for Europe were carried on that year in the ſame manner as uſual; they had no enemy nearer the ſettlement of Calcutta than 800 miles, and that enemy at the head of the remains of a conquered army: this was the proſperous ſituation colonel Munro left the country in, and before he embarked for Europe; and before general Carnac joined the army, Sir Robert Fletcher took poſſeſſion of Illahabad and Lucknar, and totally diſperſed the remains of Sujah Dowlah's army.

Colonel Munro attributed the mutinous diſpoſition of the troops, when he took the command, to a relaxation of diſcipline, and to the benefit they thought

thought themſelves entitled by their ſucceſſes, and for having remained ſo long in the field. Theſe Europeans that mutinied, and deſerted to the enemy, moſtly French, and ſome Germans, mixed with the Engliſh companies.

It appears by Colonel Munro's evidence, that the Indian princes get their artillery from England, Holland, and France. There is hardly a ſhip that comes to India, that does not ſell them cannon and ſmall arms; the gunpowder they make the moſt of it themſelves. They caſt ſhot in abundance, but there is no black prince that caſts cannon but the king of Travelcore. The cannon and military ſtores are ſmuggled into the country. Indeed the company has made ſome examples, and ſuch a practice might be eaſily prevented.

The company may raiſe as many battalions of ſeapoys as they pleaſe. One method to make them faithful and good ſoldiers, is a ſtrict diſcipline. Another, is to incorporate them with Europeans, allowing them to follow their own cuſtoms and manners with regard to religion, when it does not interfere with their duty; they ſhould be well paid, and have good cloathing; taking better care of them when they are ſick, and uſing them with more lenity in every reſpect when they behave well. The number of European officers ſhould be increaſed amongſt them. The colonel's opinion is, in order to preſerve our conqueſts in India, to keep always a proper force of Europeans in that country, never ſuffering the company's ſervants to make war againſt the country powers, until it is evident that they are the firſt aggreſſors, making

proper

proper laws in the country, and enforcing their execution.

He thinks an eſtabliſhment of no leſs than 4000 men ſhould be kept in the Bengal provinces, to defend them againſt all the country powers who make war againſt the Engliſh, and to counterbalance the black troops who muſt be neceſſarily employed in that country, and who are capable of being brought to diſcipline almoſt equal to the Europeans. About 700 men in time of peace are ſufficient yearly to ſupply the recruits, neceſſary to maintain an eſtabliſhment of 4000 men. Any foreigners whatſoever, never ought to be employed by the Engliſh in that country; there have been frequent examples of foreigners deſerting to the enemy when in the field, and they cannot be depended upon in time of action. The Catholics of Ireland might be very well and ſafely employed as private ſoldiers. One third of the Europeans ſhould be cavalry, which is certainly, of very great uſe; in that caſe, the company ſhould not want an eſtabliſhment of black cavalry, being of no uſe in time of peace, and in time of war, only of uſe to keep the line quiet on the march.

It has been the cuſtom from time immemorial for captains of Engliſh ſhips to ſell arms and military ſtores to the natives of India. The French, Dutch, and Danes always did the ſame; and there is no probability of preventing other nations from carrying on this trade. Though it might be a dangerous experiment to train the ſeapoys ſo as to make them equal to Europeans, they cannot be governed without a ſtrict diſcipline.

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The King gave a jaghire to Colonel Munro, who was ſometime in poſſeſſion of it: this jaghire upon ſome of the provinces in Bengal, amounted to 12,500l. a year for life, in conſideration of the colonel's ſervices to the Mogul and the country. Upon the receipt of it, he wrote immediately to Mr. Spencer, who was governor of Calcutta, acquainting him with the king's benefaction. The colonel received his anſwer after he had quitted the command of the army, and Mr. Spencer acquainted him that his receiving ſuch a jaghire was ſo much contrary to the intereſt of the company, that they never would ſuffer him to hold it; that, the company had gone to law with Lord Clive about his jaghire, and requeſted that he would deliver it up to the Nabob when he ſhould ſee him, who would not only behave handſomely upon the occaſion, but that the company would never ſee him the ſufferer from ſuch an act, after the ſervices he had done them. From that moment, he reſolved to deliver it up to the Nabob, and upon his arrival at Muxadavad, he waited on the Nabob, who was then ill at his palace, and told him, that he had got a jaghire from the king, but as he was returning to Europe, he would leave it with him. This was in the preſence of Mr. Middleton, reſiding at the Durbar, Captains Gordon and Stables. The Nabob, upon receiving the jaghire, ſmiled, and ſaid to the colonel, "This a piece of generoſity I am a little accuſtomed; but if I live you ſhall not be the ſufferer." He ordered his miniſter, Nundcomer to deſire the interpreter to acquaint the colonel, that he begged his acceptance of two lacks of rupees, which would be at Calcutta about the time

time of his arrival there. Colonel Munro received at Calcutta a letter from the nabob's ſon, acquainting him with his father's death, requeſting his intereſt for him to ſucceed his father as ſubah, and aſſuring him, as he knew the whole tranſaction of the jaghire, and the promiſes his father made to the colonel, that he would make them good; and in this ſituation colonel Munro left his jaghire, and his lacks. Since he came to England, Mr. Spencer wrote to him, that he had acquainted lord Clive with the demands he had upon the government, and that his lordſhip promiſed him, if there was ſo much remaining of the nabob's outſtanding debts, he would order the payment of the two lacks of rupees to the colonel's attorney. I am very happy ſaid he, before the committee, from his lordſhip's eminent ſervices to this country and the company, that he has a more reſponſible fund for the payment of his jaghire; at the ſame time, I cannot help regretting that his lordſhip did not think my two years rent deſerved a better fund than the nabob's outſtanding debts. Let my ſmall ſervices be rewarded as they may: let individuals think of them as they pleaſe; I hope facts will come out before this committee is at an end, to ſhew them and the world, that this country has been ſerved; that this Eaſt-India company has been ſaved by more than one or two men; many brave and gallant men have done honour to their king, have done ſervice to this country, and have ſaved the Eaſt-India company; and ſome of them have loſt their lives in the cauſe. I never received any part of the two lack, nor any preſent from the Eaſt-India company.

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At the time the Mogul granted the Jaghire, the nabob did not pay to him any revenues or acknowledgments from Bengal. When lord Clive was upon the ſpot, the colonel thought his lordſhip's neglect, intimated a mean opinion of his ſervices, otherwiſe he would have ordered the nabob to pay the two lacks due to him. Mr. Spencer had been offered ten lack of rupees, if he would continue Nundcomer, about the perſon of the nabob, which he refuſed.

When colonel Munro ſaw the king firſt, he offered him the Dewannee, he had offered it before to Sir Eyre Coote after the Mogul's father's death: Mr. Vanſittart had the ſame offers, which he declined, not knowing how far he could be juſtified in ſuch an act, or how far it might be detrimental to the company. The reaſons for colonel Munro's refuſing the ſame advantage were, that he formed no plans of any kind, but that of extricating the company from the danger that threatened them.

The governor and council ought to be the judges of whatever is conducive or prejudicial to the intereſt of the company, and the colonel knew what was for the honour of his majeſty's troops to be concerned in. The mogul could and would have done any thing at that time that the colonel deſired without the conſent of the nabob, and the company would have reaped any benefit that they pleaſed from the king's unlimited conceſſions, as ever ſince Coſſim had been drove out of the country, the company themſelves have been the nabob. Colonel Munro declared, that could he have foreſeen the ingratitude and the injuſtice of the company in regard to him, ſince his arrival from India, he never would

would have given up his jaghire. While he had the command of the army, he refuſed the offers of above 300,000l. at different times for making alterations in the offices of the government, and he never received a ſingle rupee by way of preſent, either in money or jewels, except 10,000l. from Bulwantſing, for having maintained him in the zemindary of the country. Colonel Munro's evidence does equal honour to his military conduct and diſintereſted principles. The victory of Buxar from the great force of the enemy, and the number of the artillery, is one of the moſt intereſting that was ever fought in India. Such a ſucceſs at one blow, ſo as to defeat utterly Sujah Dowlah and Coſſim's deſigns againſt the Bengal provinces, was attended with the moſt important advantages to the company. The colonel's ſkill and activity before the opening of the campaign, and his judgment in leading them into the field, with the excellent diſpoſition he made for receiving or attacking the enemy, cannot be too much commended, and ranked him above moſt Engliſh commanders in Indoſtan.

With reſpect to the jaghire, it is equally contrary to the honour and the intereſt of the company, that it ſhould thus become triburary, as it were to its own ſervants; and the ſoliciting or even accepting, a grant of the ſovereignty of the company's poſſeſſions, appears ſo inconſiſtent with that relation, that it is as illegal, as it is improper. The Eaſt-India company, ſenſible that the jagheer given by Ally Khan to lord Clive, ariſing out of the lands granted by the nabob to the ſaid company, was an encroachment upon their poſſeſſions; directed the governor and council of Bengal not to pay any far-

ther ſum to lord Clive on that account; in conſequence of which, all future payments of the rents claimed by lord Clive as a jagheer, were ordered to be ſtopt. Upon which, his lordſhip thought fit to commence a ſuit in the court of chancery againſt the company, inſiſting on a title to thoſe rents. The directors inſtructed their ſervants to take the proper ſteps to inform themſelves of the real ſtate of the facts, material to the diſcuſſion of the ſeveral queſtions upon which the plaintiff's claim appeared; and, in particular, to make proper inquiries into the authenticity of the pretended patent from the mogul, creating lord Clive an Iman, or Omra, of the empire, which he made the foundation of his title, deriving from it a capacity to accept a jaghire, and a right to expect one. If no ſuch patent had been ever iſſued, as they had great reaſon to believe, or, if any of the uſual forms neceſſary to make it valid and effectual were wanting, they would have been deciſive againſt him. The manner of obtaining the ſuppoſed grant of the jaghire from Jaffier Ally Khan, the nabob's motives, intentions, &c. were to be minutely enquired into, and in caſe, there ſhould have been (as lord Clive's own letters led the directors to ſuſpect) any impoſture in any of the inſtruments ſuppoſed to have formerly iſſued, or if any thing of that kind ſhould be attempted at this juncture, they were to ſpare no pains nor expence to detect it. They were directed to make immediately effectual applications to the courts of Dehly and Muxadavad, to prevent the iſſuing any new grants or confirmations, by which the plaintiff might ſupply the defects of his preſent

ſent title, or acquire a new one, though he ſhould have none at preſent: they were ſo fully ſenſible of the many inconveniences to the company, which ſuch a title, ſhould it be eſtabliſhed, would occaſion, that they made the ſtricteſt enquiry into the foundation of the claim, and if there was no title at preſent, they were to uſe their beſt endeavours to prevent the acquiring one. If theſe rents were to be paid, they thought it, upon many accounts, much more for the intereſt of the company to pay them as uſual to the nabob, for the uſe of the mogul, than to any pretended grantee of theirs. Circumſtanced as things were at Bengal at the time the late nabob was induced to make the grant, which gave occaſion to his lordſhip's claim, they thought the company had a right to expect to be releaſed from this tribute altogether, and that their preſent claimant, then governor of the company's ſettlements, and commander of their troops, ought to have employed the influence this ſtation gave him, in procuring this conceſſion for the company's benefit inſtead of his own. The preſent ſituation of things encouraged them ſtill to hope, that both the mogul and the reigning nabob might be prevailed upon to relinquiſh theſe rents in favour of the company, as well for the ſake of the revenue, as to prevent the company being ever again embarraſſed with a claim like the preſent. The governor and council at Calcutta were directed to uſe their beſt endeavours to obtain that conceſſion, in caſe theſe rents were ſtill in their diſpoſal.

For the purpoſe of carrying thoſe orders into execution, Mr. John Spencer, or Mr. Warren Haſtings, with

with ſome other of the company's ſervants as were beſt qualified by their equity and knowledge of the language, were ordered to Muxadavad and Delhy to undertake this negotiation; and in caſe lord Clive was to employ an agent in Bengal, to aſſiſt him in any thing relative to the matters in diſpute between him and the company; none of the council were to accept this office.

Theſe inſtructions, dated 30th December, 1763, lord Clive had repealed on his going to India the laſt time, when he was appointed governor and commander in chief of the army in the Bengal provinces.

As his lordſhip has ſeverely animadverted on Mr. Vanſittart's conduct, for having depoſed Meer Jaffier; we ſhall ſet forth the cauſes of the reſolution unanimouſly approved by the governor and council.

The nabob Jaffier Ally Ichan was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the ſame time, very indolent: the people about him were either abject ſlaves and flatterers, or elſe the baſe implements of his evils. There was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted, but by their removal. He attributed all the ill ſucceſs of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and ſacrificed lives without mercy to the exceſs of his jealouſy: numberleſs were the inſtances of men of all degrees, whoſe blood he had ſpilt without the leaſt aſſigned reaſon: he had cauſed to be murdered the mother, the widow, and the daughter of Serajah Dowlah; beſides ſeveral of his great officers. The nabob of Dacca refuſed to obey the cruel order of putting

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ting to death all the ſurvivors of the family of the nabob Aliverdee Khan and Serajah Dowlah, and the meſſenger who had private inſtructions to execute this tragedy, in caſe of the other's refuſal, maſſacred, and drowned them, with about twenty women their attendants.

Executions of this kind had made the Nabob, the dread and deteſtation of all good men; and he neceſſarily became a prey to the people of mean extraction and abject diſpoſition, who knowing that a government ſo managed could not ſtand long, ſought only to make themſelves rich by oppreſſions of all ſorts, upon the country and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes laid by them on the markets, was aſcribed the unuſual ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions at the city, the capital of a country once eſteemed the moſt plentiful in the world.

His confidents were men of low birth, who engaged him continually in idle and vicious amuſements, keeping him by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a ſtate of indifference as to their ſucceſs. No money came into his treaſury; at the ſame time, nothing was paid to his army, inſomuch that his troops mutinied, and ſurrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life, which they would certainly have done, had not his ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor, the Nabob Coſſim Ally Khan, become anſwerable, and paid them a very large ſum out of his own treaſury. The imminent danger with which his perſon was threatened on this occaſion, awakened him for a moment; but it was no ſooner removed than he fell back into his uſual le-

lethargy. The ſame unworthy miniſters remained ſtill his only counſellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the laſt day of his adminiſtration, which he left in ſo confuſed and impoveriſhed a ſtate, that in all human appearance, he would have been cut off by his own ſeapoys, and the city become a ſcene of plunder and diſorder before another month could have elapſed; having made no proviſion for the payment of the long arrears due to his people. After Coſſim Ally Khawn had freed him from his former extremities, this danger he could not but foreſee, and more than once declared his apprehenſions, yet he had not the power to exert the neceſſary means for preventing it, but ſunk the deeper into dejection.

Beſides this inteſtine danger to which the government was expoſed, two armies were in the field, waiting only for the fair weather, to advance; the Sha Zadda towards Patna, and the Baarboom Rajah towards Meerſhadabad, the capital. The Rajahs of the countries bordering upon the mountains, were ready to ſhake off their dependance, and had already offered conſiderable ſupplies to the Baarboom Rajah. Another Rajah had committed open hoſtilities, and taken poſſeſſion of all the country above Boglepoor, which entirely ſtopped the communication between the two provinces on that ſide of the river. In a word, the whole country ſeemed ripe for an univerſal revolt, theſe parts only excepted, which from their natural weakneſs, or neighbourhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all theſe difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom, there-

therefore, no great efforts could be expected. Of this, a very remarkable inſtance occurs in the detachment which was ordered againſt the Baar-boom Rajah, three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three leagues from the city, in which ſituation they continued upon Mr. Vanſittart's arrival at Calcutta.

All who were acquainted with the tranſactions of the government, know that this is a true deſcription of facts; and all that are convinced of the facts, muſt agree, that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifeſt danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined. Mr. Vanſittart was reſolved, therefore, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get theſe bad miniſters removed; and judging it might be difficult to prevail on the Nabob to part with his favourites without ſome degree of violence, he brought with him a detachment of Europeans and ſeapoys, under pretence of ſending them with Colonel Caillaud to re-inforce the army at Patna.

Mr. Vanſittart arrived with the colonel at Coſſimbuzor, the 14th of October, and the next day the Nabob paid them a viſit. The 16th, they went to the city, and returned the viſit on the 18th. The Nabob came to Moradbaug, by appointment, to talk upon buſineſs; in the converſation which Mr. Vanſittart had with him in the two former meetings, he had taken occaſion to repreſent to him in general terms, the bad management of his miniſters, the miſeries and univerſal diſaffection of the country, and the deſperate ſtate of his, as well as of the company's affairs; in order to give him a more full and clear view of the evils brought on, through

through the weakneſs of his adminiſtration, and to point out the means of their removal, he had prepared three letters; which, after a ſhort and friendly introduction, he delivered to the Nabob, who ſeemed much affected by the peruſal of them, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propoſe a remedy to the evils.

Mr. Vanſittart, however, prevailed on him to ſend for his dinner at Moradbaug, and in a manner inſiſted on his coming to ſome determination for the immediate reform of the government; at length he confeſſed himſelf, through age and grief, for the late loſs of his ſon, uncapable alone of ſtruggling againſt ſo many difficulties; that he had much better take the aſſiſtance of one from amongſt his relations, on whoſe true attachment and fidelity he might more ſafely rely: he named five or ſix, and amongſt them Coſſim Ally Kawn: Mr. Vanſittart asked him, "Which of that number was moſt fit to aſſiſt him in his preſent exigencies?" he replied without heſitation, "That Coſſim Ally Kawn was the moſt proper; nevertheleſs it was with the utmoſt difficulty, Mr. Vanſittart could prevail on the nabob to ſend for him; and ſo very late, that before Coſſim could arrive, the old nabob was ſo extremely fatigued, and in ſuch a ſtate of anxiety, that he could not refuſe his return home to take his reſt. He was convinced indeed, that it was to no purpoſe to detain him: for ſuch was the jealouſy he diſcovered with reſpect to Coſſim Ally Kawn that Mr. Vanſittart perceived he never would conſent, without ſome ſort of force, to give the other the means of reſtoring order to his affairs. An

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hour or two after the nabob's departure, Coſſim Ally Cawn arrived, and ſeemed to be extremely apprehenſive, that the nabob inſtead of truſting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavour by ſome means or other, to get rid of him. Mr Vanſittart agreed therefore, in opinion with him, that he ſhould not go to the nabob's houſe until meaſures were taken for his ſecurity. This reſolve, however, to give the nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes, that he would propoſe ſome meaſures of regulation. Mr. Vanſittart heard nothing from him all day, but found by his intelligence, that he had been in council with his old adviſers, whoſe ſuggeſtions he was ſure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the company in particular. He determined therefore, to act immediately on the nabob's fears: there could not be a better opportunity than that the night of the 19th afforded, it being the concluſion of the Gentoo feaſt, when all the principal people of that caſt would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies; accordingly, Mr. Vanſittart agreed with colonel Caillaud, that he ſhould croſs the river with the detachment, between three and four in the morning, and having joined Coſſim Ally Kawn and his people, marched to the nabob's palace, and ſurrounded it juſt at day break: Mr. Vanſittart being extremely deſirous to prevent any diſturbance or bloodſhed, wrote a letter to the nabob, and delivered it to the colonel, to ſend in to him at ſuch a time as he ſhould think moſt expedient. The following is a tranſlation of it.

"I have been waiting all this day in expectation that you would have ſettled ſome of the weighty and urgent affairs upon which I yeſterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination; but, you have not favoured me with any anſwer concerning them; from hence it plainly appears, that as long as theſe evil counſellors remain about your perſon, whatſoever I may repreſent to you for your proſperity and welfare, and the good of the country, will have no effect. The folly of theſe people will ſoon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin likewiſe of the company's affairs. I have judged it improper, that ſuch evils and diſgrace ſhould be brought upon us for the ſake of two or three men; for this reaſon, I have ſent colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon you; when the ſame colonel arrives, he will expel theſe bad counſellors, and place your affairs in a proper ſtate: I will ſhortly follow. Let not your excellency be under any apprehenſions, but chearfully receive the colonel, and give orders to your men, that they commit no diſturbance, nor raiſe tumults in the city. I ſolemnly declare, that I have no other view, but your good and welfare: look upon me as your ſincere well-wiſher, and remain ſatisfied."

Meaſures had been taken at the ſame time for ſeizing three of his chief counſellors; the intention of Mr. Vanſittart being only to remove theſe unworthy maſters, and to place Coſſim Ally Kawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy or ſucceſſor to the nabob: the neceſſary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and ſecrecy poſſible, the colonel embarked with

with the troops; joined Coſſim Ally Kawn without the leaſt alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace juſt at the proper inſtant; the gates of the inner court being ſhut, the colonel formed his men without, and ſent the letter to the nabob, who was at firſt in a great rage, and threatened he would make what reſiſtance he could, and take his fate. The colonel forbore all hoſtilities, and ſeveral meſſages paſſed between him and the nabob. The affair remained in this doubtful ſtate about two hours, when the nabob finding his perſiſting was to no purpoſe, ſent a meſſage to Coſſim Ally Kawn, informing him, he was ready to ſend him the ſeals, and all the enſigns of dignity, and to order, the Nabit to be ſtuck up in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to diſcharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the uſual revenues to the king, to ſave his life and honour, and to give him an allowance ſufficient for his maintenance. All theſe conditions being agreed to, Coſſim was proclaimed, and the old nabob came out to the colonel, declaring that he depended on him for his life: the troops then took poſſeſſion of all the gates; and notice being ſent to governor Vanſittart, he immediately repaired to the palace, and was met by the old nabob in the gate-way; he aſked if his perſon was ſafe, which ſeemed now to be all his concern. I told him, that not only his perſon was ſafe, but his government too, if he pleaſed, of which it was never intended to deprive him. The nabob anſwered, "That he had no more buſineſs at the city, that he ſhould be in continual danger from Coſſim, and that if he was permitted to go and live at Calcutta, he

he ſhould be extremely happy and contented. Mr. Vanſittart could not help lamenting his ſudden fall; yet he was not ſorry for this propoſal, as he knew affairs would be much better managed without him; and his retaining a ſhare in the authority (however ſmall) could not fail to cauſe ſuch perplexities as might prove in ſo critical and dangerous a juncture, of the worſt conſequence to the adminiſtration. Coſſim Ally Kawn was accordingly ſeated on the miſnud, and the governor paid him his congratulations in the uſual form; all the jamindars and perſons of diſtinction at the city, came immediately and made their acknowledgment to the new ſubah, and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet as if there had been no change; the people in general ſeemed much pleaſed with the revolution, which had this peculiar felicity attending it, that it was brought about without the leaſt diſturbance in the town, or a drop of blood ſpilt.

The nabob did not think himſelf ſafe even for one night in the city: Coſſim ſupplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he deſired, (which he did to about the number of ſixty) with a reaſonable gratuity of jewels. Mr. Vanſittart furniſhed him with a ſtrong eſcort of Europeans and ſeapoys, and intended to lodge him at Najazeel, but he would not truſt himſelf there, and begged he might ſleep in his boats, cloſe to Miradbaug, which he accordingly did. He continued at Miradbaug the next day, and in the evening the governor viſited him with colonel Caillaud. He appeared then pretty eaſy, and reconciled to the loſs a power, which he owned to be rather a burthen than a pleaſure, and too much for his abilities to manage, ſince the death of his

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ſon; the enjoyment of the reſt of his days in ſecurity under the Engliſh protection, ſeemed to be the chief object of his wiſhes.

On the morning of the 22d, he ſet out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th; he was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of reſpect due to his former dignity.

When Mr. Vanſittart was at Madraſs, colonel Clive frequently wrote to him upon the ſtate of the affairs of this country, and told him, that whenever he returned to Europe, he would procure his appointment to the government. The friendſhip and connections between the nabob and the colonel, whom he called his ſon, were well known to Mr. Vanſittart; but on his arrival he obſerved, that the Engliſh forces employed in the nabob's ſervice, and in the ſupport of his government at Patna, were kept without their pay. The forces of the ſircar ſtationed in theſe parts were diſaffected to the ſervice for want of pay. The ſeapoys of Marſheda-bad had ſurrounded the palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of their pay, and endangered the nabob's life. His miniſters from their covetouſneſs and bad diſpoſitions, had ſet aſide all juſtice, were plundering the poor without cauſe, deſtroying the ſubjects with wanton barbarity, and bringing ruin and deſolation on the country. A ſcarcity of proviſions never known before in the Bengal provinces, had reduced the people of all degrees to the greateſt diſtreſs; which was entirely owing to the bad management of the old nabob's miniſters. All the lands and villages were in a ſtate of deſolation; the miniſters of the ſircar regarding only their own intereſt, neglected the welfare of the ſubjects, and oppreſſed the induſtrious,

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in rapine, violence, and injuſtice. Mr. Vanſittart came to his government in the midſt of theſe calamities; when the dignity of the nabob, the reputation of the company, and the proſperity of the country were almoſt expired. It required his abilities to remedy all thoſe evils, even for the preſent, and to ſurmount ſuch difficulties. Though his enemies have impeached his conduct and judgment, particularly lord Clive, for having placed on the miſnud the treacherous Coſſim, whoſe intereſt Mr. Vanſittart himſelf was afterwards obliged to abandon; he could not foreſee the ingratitude and villainy of Coſſim, who before his elevation had ſupported the character of a man of ſenſe and moderation.

Thoſe who had publicly declared their diſſent from this revolution, and expreſſed their entire diſapprobation of the meaſures purſued in conſequence, alledged the following reaſons. "They complained that the whole board had not been conſulted, otherwiſe this meaſure would have been rejected by the majority. They ſaid, that when Mr. Vanſittart, urged the old nabob's immediate compliance with what he had propoſed to him, with a military force." The nabob returned for anſwer, "That ſuch uſage was what he never expected from the Engliſh; that whilſt a force was at his gates he would enter into no terms, and that it was his deſire our troops might be returned to Muradbaug. When colonel Caillaud threatened him to ſtorm the palace, aſtoniſhed and terrified by this menace, the nabob opened the gates; exclaiming that he was betrayed, that the Engliſh were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he perceived

their deſign againſt his government; that he had friends enough to hazard at leaſt one battle in his defence; but although, no oaths were ſacred enough to bind the Engliſh, yet as he had ſworn to be their faithful friend, he would never ſwerve from his engagement, and rather ſuffer death than draw his ſword againſt them." So ſuſpicious was he, according to their report, of being ſold, that he deſired to know what ſum of money Coſſim was to give for the Subahſhip, and he would give half as much more to be continued. He hoped, however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his ſon-in-law, from whom he feared the worſt, but rather wiſhed they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of ſafety in Calcutta. They repreſented this laſt requeſt of the nabob, as the effect of his fear and deſpair, which was immediately laid hold of, and conſtrued in the light of a voluntary reſignation. That the old nabob had been hurried into a boat, with a few of his women and neceſſaries, and ſent away to Calcutta in a manner unworthy of the high rank he had ſo lately held, as was alſo the ſcanty ſubſiſtence allowed him by his ſucceſſor.

That Jaffier Ally Kawn had been depoſed in breach of a treaty, founded upon the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith, a prince of whoſe friendſhip and attachment they had had ſo many ſignal proofs, and in whoſe cauſe had been employed with great ſucceſs.

In regard to the army laid to Jaffier's charge, which to thoſe unacquainted with the Eaſtern governments will appear deſerving of the higheſt reſentment

ſentment from a civilized nation ; ſuch is the ſtate of politics in every Aſiatic court, that through the apprehenſions of the ſovereign, and the intrigues and artifices of the great men about him, inſtances of cruelty and oppreſſion are but too frequent ; and even the moſt beloved amongſt them are taxed with conniving at theſe acts of violence, often committed by perſons in power without their knowledge ; as there are no regular puniſhments for criminals of high ſtations, recourſe is often had to the dagger, or poiſon, to puniſh the guilty. The enemies to the revolution pretended this to be the caſe in moſt of the inſtances alledged again Jaffier Ally Kawn ; they accuſed Coſſim of having diſcovered a greater propenſity to cruelty, when being in poſſeſſion of the palace, he was deſirous of making the firſt act of his power the aſſaſſination of Jaffier, and was very much diſpleaſed when he found we intended to give him protection at Calcutta. Since his acceſſion to the ſubahdary, they charged him with numberleſs acts of cruelty and extortion, and of having made the more immediate objects of his ill uſage, thoſe who had been the moſt avowed friends of the Engliſh. Indeed, want of money was the greateſt difficulty the nabob laboured under, but this did proceed from the diſtracted ſtate, in which the country had been ever ſince colonel Clive's departure ; ſo that a very ſmall part of the revenues came into his treaſury. Some of his countries were aſſigned to the company for the payment of his debts, and others under contributions of his enemies ; and though the force we had in the field, under major Carnac was more than

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ſufficient to repel the invaders; no material advantage was gained over them, but by continual marches and countermarches, our own armies became as deſtructive as thoſe of the invaders.

They affirmed that Coſſim was deſpiſed and diſliked before he came to the miſnud, and that his behaviour ſince, had been ſo oppreſſive and tyrannical, that it could not fail confirming the public hatred of him. They could not however deny, that the company acquired by this revolution a conſiderable addition of territory, and received a larger yearly revenue.

They complained of Coſſim increaſing the number of his troops, notwithſtanding the actual tranquility of the provinces, and that he was arming and diſciplining as many ſeapoys as he could procure, in the European manner, to make himſelf more formidable. That he was erecting a large fort at Rajahmaul, which he propoſed to make his place of reſidence, and hoped to be out of the reach of the preſidency.

That inſtead of checking the overgrowing power of the preſent nabob, it was daily promoted, as he had the abſolute command of the company's forces at Patna; the chief there, having had directions to let him have what number of troops he pleaſes to demand, without being allowed to judge of the nature of the ſervice for which they are demanded.

Notwithſtanding this zealous attachment to Coſſim, they were apprehenſive he would not act the part of a faithful ally towards the company, as he betrayed a continual diſtruſt of thoſe who had appeared any ways attached to the company.

They repreſented the nabob's large army as a burthen upon the provinces, and only kept up to ſcreen him from the king's power, and through his jealouſy of the company, which if reduced, would have eaſed the country of an immenſe expence.

There is no doubt, that many grievances complained of againſt Coſſim after his eſtabliſhment on the miſnud, were real; and in juſtice to Mr. Vanſittart's memory, we exculpate him of any ſelfiſh views in this revolution, ſince he was convinced of his error afterwards, and finding he had been miſtaken in his opinion of Coſſim, he approved of the meaſures taken to deprive him of the power he had abuſed.

The committee appointed to enquire into the nature, ſtate, and condition of the Eaſt India comny, and of the Britiſh affairs in the Eaſt Indies, being determined to ſtate the material parts of the conduct of the company's ſervants, with reſpect to the powers intruſted with them by the company, in the civil and military departments, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in the accepting of preſents, in the management of trade, and in the revenues and coinage, conceived the tranſactions concerning Ramnarain, naib or deputy governor of Patha, under Jaffier Ally Kawn, to be of material conſequence, as they contributed chiefly to bring on the war with Coſſim Ally Kawn.

Lord Clive, a member of the committee, being requeſted to relate what were the engagements entered into by Ramnarain with the nabob, ſaid, "There was no engagement in writing; that after his lordſhip was called up to the aſſiſtance of Meer Jaffier, his excellency deſired him to write to Ramnarain,

narain, aſſuring him of the Engliſh protection; for that Ramnarain would put confidence in ſuch a letter, but not in one from himſelf, and that he ſhould by that means get poſſeſſion of his perſon, and might cut off his head: that his lordſhip told him it was not the cuſtom of the Engliſh to be guilty of ſuch tranſactions, but that if he was inclined to reduce him by force of arms, he was ready to aſſiſt him. His lordſhip afterwards wrote to Ramnarain, that if he would come into the preſence and acknowledge the nabob, he ſhould be kept in his government on the ſame footing, as he had been under Serajah Dowlah. That he came accordingly, paid obedience to the nabob, and was confirmed in his government, upon condition that he ſhould pay the nabob Meer Jaffier, the ſame rents or tribute, as he had paid to Serajah Dowlah; what that was, his lordſhip did not tell, but he declared he was to have paid a certain ſum, which might have been increaſed and decreaſed upon various circumſtances. That, when he took leave of Meer Jaffier, at his departure for England, he talked over with him the ſtate in which he left the province. That he always underſtood, that Ramnarain remained in the government of Patna, through the Engliſh protection, much againſt the inclination of Meer Jaffier; and that, if his excellency had had any complaints to have made againſt him, he would certainly have made them to his lordſhip; but that none were made.

Mr. Mac Guire whilſt he was chief at Patna, had received orders for delivering up Ramnarain, which he would not execute. His opinion then was, that Ramnarain ſhould have been ſuſpended

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the ſervice, but his perſon protected; he underſtood by the term diſmiſſing him, that his guards ſhould be withdrawn, and that he ſhould be totally ſuſpended from all interference in the government, till his accounts ſhould be ſettled: and that when he was to be diſmiſſed, he was informed that force if neceſſary, was to be uſed to prevent the nabob's ſeizing him.

Mr. Mac Guire in his correſpondence with the governor and council, had adviſed that Ramnarain ſhould be delivered over to the nabob's court of juſtice, that he might be compelled to make up the accounts of the ſircar; for, whilſt he found the governor and council were mediators with the nabob, not to diſhonour him, he knew he could not be obliged to comply; and under this ſhelter the nabob could not bring him to juſtice. Mr. Mac Guire declared, he did not mean to ſubject him to the various methods uſed by the nabob's court, to force a perſon by torture to ſettle their accounts; and when Ramnarain came into the kellah, previous to his being delivered over, he had beſides the nabob's word, the protection of the Engliſh; provided he would ſettle his accounts with the government. It appeared from Mr. Mac Guire's evidence, that he had received from Coſſim ally Kawn 70,000 rupees, on delivering the keys of the kellah at Patna, which was a ſhort time, previous to the period when Ramnarain was removed from the government of Patna. He never notified to the court of directors the receipt of this preſent. The country having been in a ſtate of war for a conſiderable time, previous to the delivering up of Ramnarain, the rents could not be regularly collected under

der theſe circumſtances. It had been ſtipulated by the council, that Ramnarain ſhould pay to the nabob of Bengal for the rent of Bahar, three lacks of rupees a year; that he ſhould pay the tribute to the Maratta's, the Jaghirdars, and to keep up a certain number of forces, all which might amount to forty lack of rupees a year.

The nabob did not admit that ſuch agreement had been made; but if it had, Ramnarain could not want a ſum ſufficient to make his payments to the nabob. His manner of raiſing money was by receiving preſents from different rajah's to a large amount, without ever collecting the rents regularly. Mr. Mac Guire did not deliver over Ramnarain till the 19th of Auguſt 1761, the very day he was diſmiſſed from his office of chief at Patna, when he gave him to Mr. Hay under a guard of protection, and Ramnarain compromiſed matters with the nabob for 50 lack of rupees in the beginning of September following.

Though the terms on which Ramnarain was to hold the government of Patna were not known, it is certain, ſome engagements were entered into by lord Clive, to ſupport him in the Naibat. The Engliſh protection was withdrawn from Ramnarain, immediately after Mr. Mac Guire's diſmiſſmiſſion from Patna, and upon his removal the military command was placed under the chief of the factory, as was uſual when the commanding officer preſent was not above the rank of a captain, and the field officers were called away, that it might be ſo on this occaſion. There had been no diſputes betwixt the civil and military powers, previous to Mr. Mac Guire's recal, which might account

count for it: Ramnarain was at laſt put to death by Coſſim Ally Kawn, as well as Raja Bullub his competitor, and almoſt every Gentoo in the province of any rank or fortune, moſt of which ſect were well diſpoſed to the Engliſh, and rich. According to Mr. Vanſittart's minute, the 20th July 1761, Ramnarain was ſtated to be highly culpable towards the nabob, and his conduct had put it out of the power of the preſident and council to protect him longer in ſo ſhameful an injuſtice: but it was ſaid in his vindication, that the province of Bahar had been a ſcene of war and deſolation the whole preceding year, ſo that all reſources from thence were cut off. Indeed the jealouſies, the nabob Coſſim Ally Kawn entertained of the company's ſervants, engaged him to make examplary puniſhments of thoſe who ſhould ſeek protection of them, in regard to the ſeizing, and putting to death Harris Choudry in the year 1762. He had been one of the company's contracting merchants at Coſſimbuzar factory, and had likewiſe been employed as the company's ageat at the nabob's court. At the time he was ſeized, he was in ſome employment under Coſſim Ally Kawn. When Mr. Vanſittart made him nabob, he permitted Mr. Mott, an Engliſhman, to reſide at Muxadabad, as a banker, Choudry complained that Mr. Mott, preſuming on the influence he had over the nabob, by Mr. Vanſittart's means, had ſeized a houſe and ſome land at Muxadabad, which belonged to him, and in conſequence of Choudry oppoſing by force this piece of injuſtice, Choudry was ſeized, and after ſome confinement blown away from the mouth of a cannon. Mr. Vanſittart did not uſe his influence

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to ſave him, deeming his execution a juſt reward for his rebellion.

The firſt cauſes of the war between Coſſim Ally Kawn and the company, might be traced from the publication of the Mongheer treaty; as ſoon as it was promulgated, the nabob Coſſim Ally Kawn, ſent orders to all his zemindars and officers to prevent the Engliſh from trading in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco.

It appeared, that the nabob had given inſtructions to ſtop the Engliſh in their trade, all but his friends, Vanſittart and Haſtings; and that the breach of Coſſim Ally Kawn, aroſe from his deſire and intention of making himſelf totally independent of the Engliſh; though ſome attributed it to the inordinate deſire of the company's ſervants to carry on the trade of the country, without paying him his duties. Indeed, the Engliſh in general traded duty-free; and prior to the year 1757, in all articles, except ſalt, beetle-nut, tobacco, ſaltpetre, and chutto ſilk, which were all farmed out. Salt is an import at Bengal, being made at Maſſalapatam and in Perſia. The Engliſh began to trade in ſalt about the end of 1757; ſoon after which it became general. Coſſim Ally Kawn threatened to lay open the trade in Bengal duty-free; and if the order had been put in execution, all nations would have been on the ſame footing as the Engliſh. Coſſim Ally Kawn was really determined, from the beginning, to ſet himſelf out of the reach of the Engliſh power, as expeditiouſly as poſſible; and it was natural he ſhould do ſo, having no ſecurity for the Engliſh faith, being better kept with him than his two predeceſſors. He ex-

expreſſed his reſentment on all occaſions againſt ſuch perſons of the country as had any intercourſe with the company's ſervants, ſo that none of the officers of the government dared viſit them in the familiar manner which had been uſual for three years paſt: he removed the ſeat of government from Muxadabad, which had been the metropolis of his predeceſſors, and chiefly reſided at Mongheer, which was at a conſiderable diſtance from the Engliſh ſettlement. In all parts of the country, of Mongheer and Dacca particularly, they were buſily employed in making arms for him. He diſmiſſed moſt of the troops employed by Meer Jaffier, from a ſuſpicion of having an attachment to the Engliſh, and got a new ſet of mogul officers in his ſervice, who brought new troops with them: he raiſed and diſciplined, a conſiderable number of ſeapoys, and collected a large army at a great expence, which muſt have been deſigned to act offenſively, as by the treaty with the Engliſh, they were to lend him aſſiſtance in caſe his affairs required it: he endeavoured to cut off the communication between the factory at Patna and the city, by ſhutting up a gate contiguous to the factory, and fenced the part of the city towards the river with a wall, to the great inconvenience of the company's boats; and this could only have been done with hoſtile intentions, as the vicinity of the factory, and the Engliſh troops therein, were the beſt defence he could have on that ſide. In fine, the chiefs of every factory complained of ſuch oppreſſions and violations of the Engliſh rights, as indicated an abſolute determination to quarrel.

The Armenians were accuſed to be the principal adviſers in theſe meaſures, as they ſeemed to wiſh

wiſh to have the Engliſh extirpated from the country, that the principal ſhare of the commerce might be carried on through them. One Coja Gregory was at the head of his army, and he had ſeveral Armenians in the command of his ſeapoys battalions.

The Engliſh undoubtedly had been guilty of glaring abuſes in the article of trade, in open violation of the treaties; and, indeed, the inland trade that was illegal, proved the ſource of the diſagreement with Coſſim. He naturally believed, that every gentleman who did not approve of the revolution, was hoſtile to him, and from thence he was charged of having been guilty of ſeveral inſtances of diſreſpect to the company's ſervants, becauſe he had refuſed a viſit from Mr. Ellis; *an indignity*, ſaid general Carnac, before the committee of the houſe of commons *that had never before been offered to the chief of a factory*. Had Mr. Carnac been more converſant with the difficulties of obtaining formerly an audience from the nabobs of Bengal, and the ſubmiſſion of the company's ſervants, when after repeated ſolicitations they were admitted to their preſence, he would not have preſumed to abuſe the condeſcenſion of the committee, appointed by the houſe of commons, in calling *indignity* the refuſal of a viſit from a ſovereign to an obſcure member of a mercantile ſociety, which in England, any man denies to his equals, without being called to account for his uncivil behaviour. It ſeems as if every paltry chief of a factory looked upon himſelf as a potentate; and the eaſtern princes who granted them ſettlements, and

afforded them protection, are now reduced to the humiliation of being intruded upon by all thoſe little European upſtarts, when it is their pleaſure to inſiſt upon an explanation, with ſovereigns whom they have levelled with their own claſs. Mr. Carnac's ideas muſt have been ſtrangely altered ever ſince he was a needy lieutenant in Abercorn's regiment. *Quantum mutatus ab illo.*

Mr. Ellis, indeed, as the general declared, muſt have been of a very warm diſpoſition, to have ſhewn ſuch an implacable reſentment on this occaſion.

General Carnac being farther examined, in regard to the military tranſactions of that period, ſaid, that on the 1ſt of January, 1761, he took the command of the army, which lay encamped cloſe to Patna, the capitol of the province of Bahar, then in a moſt diſtracted ſtate. The Shahzadda, who had in his ſervice monſieur Law, with the ſhattered remains of his countrymen from Chandarnagore, was in Congar Kawn's country, no more than fifty miles from Patna, where the diſaffected Rajas flocked to his ſtandard, and every zemindar made a pretext of the troubles, to evade payment of his ſtipulated revenue, ſo that all reſources from that province were at a ſtand. Moreover, the Indoſtan troops, who compoſed part of the army, were grown outrageous from the changes of government, as they deſpaired recovering the immenſe arrears of pay due to them, by the depoſed nabob. The protection afforded by the Engliſh to the Shahzadah occaſioned much diſcontent and jealouſy to the nabob Coſſim Ally Kawn; nor was the prince eaſy on his part, having been exceed-

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ingly alarmed by an insurrection in his camp. He suspected this insurrection to have been set on foot by Cossim Ally Kawn; and finding that neither the presidency, nor the nabob, were in a condition to favour him, to the extent of his wishes, he was solicitous to leave the English army.

All possibility of accommodation from the continual series of disputes which had subsisted between the English and Cossim Ally Kawn, being cut off by the inhuman murder of Mr. Amyatt, and the gentlemen of his family, and his attendants, as they were returning under the faith of a safe conduct to Calcutta; a war was declared against him the beginning of July 1763. The restoration of Meer Jaffier was resolved on, and he was proclaimed accordingly.

Major Adams of his majesty's 84th regiment, upon whom the chief command of the army had devolved, after colonel Coote, made his way through every opposition to the capital, and possessed himself of it by storm.

After a campaign commenced and prosecuted under the inconceivable hardships and difficulties which inevitably attend being in the field during the violence of the wet season in Bengal, Cossim Ally Kawn was driven out of the provinces, and signalized his flight by the unparalleled and barbarous massacre in cold blood, of every English gentleman, civil and military (Mr. Fullerton excepted) and of a number of other persons, amounting in the whole to near 300, who had the misfortune, through mischances of war, to be his prisoners.

In the progress of this war, Cossim was finally expelled out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa.

Oriſſa. On the fourth of July it had been determined by the board, to proclaim Meer Jaffier, nabob, having the preceding day, received ſome alarm on account of Mr. Amyatt and the Coſſimbuzar factory, though no certain intelligence had been procured; the letter-carriers having been driven from their reſpective ſtations, by order of Coſſim Ally Kawn. On the 10th, they received intelligence of the total defeat of the troops at Patna, and a confirmation of the maſſacre of Mr. Amyatt. On the 11th, the nabob Meer Jaffier, after having concluded the treaty with the governor and council, left Calcutta to join the army, then advanced to Agurdcap. On the 19th, they came to an engagement with the enemy under the command of Mahomed Tucky Kawn, at Bullopora, when they gained a complete victory; in conſequence of which, the enemy abandoned Cutwall, a fort on the conflux of the rivers of Coſſimbuzar and Agar. On the 23d, the army advanced to Chuna Colly, and on the 24th in the morning, ſtormed the enemy's inveſtments at Mooteji, by which they got poſſeſſion of Muxadabad, with about 50 pieces of cannon of different caulevies. On the 2d of Auguſt, the army after croſſing a nulla or ravine in the face of the enemy, came to a general engagement with the whole of their troops, in a plain remarkable for the former defeat of Sultan Sujah, called Gariah. The enemy had collected their whole force, conſiſting of twelve battalions of ſeapoys regularly diſciplined, and 15000 horſe, with 17 pieces of cannon, mounted in the Engliſh manner, being many of them taken from their army and factory at Patna, and worked by 170 Europeans,

ropeans. After an obſtinate diſpute of four hours, in which the enemy broke a part of the Engliſh troops, and had taken poſſeſſion of two pieces of their cannon: they attacked his majeſty's 89th regiment in front and rear, but the king and the company's forces gained at laſt a complete victory, the enemy having abandoned all their cannon, together with 150 boats, loaden with grain and other ſtores. On the 11th, the army advanced to Outahnulla, a fort which the enemy had fortified, being ſituate between the chain of hills and the river; from the former to the latter, they had thrown up an entrenchment, on which they had mounted 100 pieces of cannon; after having amuſed the enemy with their approaches and batteries on the bank of the river, where the Engliſh army made a falſe attack; on the 5th of September they made the real one, on the foot of the hill, in which after an obſtinate reſiſtance they ſucceeded, and got poſſeſſion of the whole of their cannon, having made a very great ſlaughter of the enemy, and taken about 1000 of their cavalry priſoners.

Coſſim had near 60,000 people in arms in that entrenchment, and the whole Engliſh army did not amount to more than 3000 firelocks. About the end of September, they advanced towards Mongheer, which having attacked regularly, they made a practicable breach, and the garriſon conſiſting of 2000 ſeapoys capitulated; that place Coſſim had made his capital, and had ſtrengthened as much as his time and circumſtances would admit. There they received accounts of the maſſacre of the Engliſh gentlemen and ſoldiers, who were priſoners of war. At Chabaud, when on march to Mongheer,

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major Adams received a letter from Coſſim Ally Kawn, ſignifying his reſolution to cut off the Engliſh gentlemen in his poſſeſſion, in caſe the army ſhould advance further.

It was while the army lay at Chabaud, that they were informed that Ramnarain and Rajah Bullub were ſent out in a boat from Mongheer, before Coſſim had left it, to a little breach in the river, in ſight of the garriſon, where they were put to death; and about the ſame time rajah, Futtaſing, and nine more of Ramnarain's relations, were likewiſe put to death; and on the advance of the army towards Patna, they found the bodies of the two ſects buried in an apartment of a houſe at Bahar; they had been put to death by Coſſim's order, and expoſed under a guard of ſeapoys, to beaſts and birds of prey, that they might not be burned, according to the rites of their religion; being Gentoos.

About the end of the month, they were advanced to the environs of Patna, which place, after a ſpirited defence, they made themſelves maſters of, on the 6th of November by ſtorm, the enemy having on the courſe of the ſiege, got poſſeſſion of one of their batteries, and blown up their magazine. After Patna was taken, the enemy made no further ſtand. The army advanced about the end of December to the banks of the Caramnaſſa, the boundary of the province, at which time Coſſim with the ſhattered remains of his army and his treaſure, were waiting to complete the bridge of boats over the Ganges, in order to croſs over to Sujah Dowlah's country, which he entered on the 4th of December. Coſſim Ally Kawn's army was better appointed

pointed and better disciplined, than any Indian army was ever before. The probability of success, must have evidently appeared in favour of Cossim, though the troops under major Adams, were all determined to a man, either to conquer or die, there being no other resource. Cossim Ally Kawn had purchased the greatest part of his field artillery clandestinely of the Europeans; he had carriages made by his own people from English models; they were made with elevating screws, and in every respect as good as the models.

Meer Jaffier, some time before his death, had associated in the government, his second son Nudjumul Dowlah, then about twenty years of age, and declared him his successor. Upon the death of Meer Jaffier, which happened in the month of January 1765, Mr. Middleton, then resident at the durbar on the part of the company, was present at the ceremony of placing Nudjumul Dowlah on the musnud, and gave and received the complimentary presents on that occasion.

The governor and council sent a deputation, consisting of four gentlemen of the council, to the nabob, who concluded a treaty with him. As Nudjumul Dowlah was to be supported in his government by the company, they stipulated such conditions as were convenient to their affairs. From the time, the barrier between the country government and the company had been broke down, contests for power had arisen between them, till in 1763, when the English affairs were brought into a most critical situation by the war with Cossim Ally Kawn. In the new treaty, therefore, with Jaffier Ally Kawn, in 1763, it had been stipulated, that

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he ſhould not maintain above 12,000 horſe, and 12,000 foot. Thus deprived of power to become formidable to the Engliſh, he had no military force that could add ſtrength to the army during the wars with Sujah Dowlah, which for ſometime wore ſo ſerious an aſpect, as to oblige the ſervants of the company to augment their forces, which, together with the great diſtance of the ſcene of action, increaſed the military expences beyond the extents of the company's funds in Bengal. This was repreſented to the nabob in October 1764, and he was with difficulty prevailed on to contribute five lacks of rupees per month, towards the expence of the army, ſo long as the war with Sujah Dowlah ſhould laſt. The little aſſiſtance that had been received from any forces that had been kept up by the nabob, convinced the council, that the entire defence of the provinces muſt henceforth reſt upon the Engliſh army. It was therefore thought wiſe and prudent, to diſcharge the nabob from the expences of keeping up any military force, but ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary for the parade and dignity of government; the diſtributing of juſtice, and the buſineſs of the collections; and in order to indemnify the company for the increaſed burthen of their expences, it was reſolved to propoſe to the nabob, that the temporary aſſignment of five lacks of rupees per month, ſhould be converted into a perpetuity, ſo long as the exigencies of the company's affairs ſhould require it, or there was a neceſſity for keeping up ſo large a force for the defence of the provinces.

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This was in fact, the laſt ſtroke of policy, which lodged all the military power inherent to the nabob, into the company. They had reduced the number of his troops; then forced him to pay an annual ſubſidy for the ſupport of their additional forces, and concluded, by depriving the nabob of a ſtanding army, and impoſing upon him a perpetual tribute, towards the expence of the company's new levies to enſlave him. The eſtabliſhed income of the company at this period, was about 1,400,000 pounds ſterling, per annum, including the five lacks per month, and excluſive of Goſſipore, which had been ceded to the company by the king, and had yielded to the company near 230,000l. per annum. The military expences, including the charge of fortifications, amounted to about 1,100,000l. per annum: civil expences of ſettlements to about 200,000l. per annum; ſo that there would have remained a clear income to the company of about 350,000l. to be employed in the purchaſe of inveſtments, excluſive of the profits ariſing from the ſales of goods imported from Europe. Such was the ſituation of the company in point of income, in April 1765; and repeatedly as the directors had enjoined their ſervants not to extend their territorial objects, the council thought the converting the temporary aſſignment of five lacks into a perpetuity, was the moſt eligible mode of aſcertaining to the company proper reſources for their prodigious military diſburſements; and it has appeared ſince, that the immenſe expences they have been at for maintaining formidable armies, were incurred not only to defend the provinces, but to make new conqueſts, and new encroachments. They

tried to perſuade the nabob that he was left in a ſituation as deſirable as any of his predeceſſors.

The old nabob had been ſo rivetted to Nundcomer, a man of very bad character, that the whole affairs of government had been committed to him without any controul: he had once been convicted before the board of aſſiſting the enemies of the company in their deſigns on Bengal; and though very ſtrongly ſuſpected of carrying on a treacherous correſpondence with our enemies, during the war with Sujah Dowlah; yet the nabob, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the board, continued to ſupport him in the plenitude of power. The court of directors ordered he ſhould not be employed in any office of truſt, which together with the opinion the board had formed of his character, brought them to the reſolution of having him removed from ſo abſolute a ſway; conſenting, however, if the nabob ſhould inſiſt upon it, to have him in any lucrative office, with ſuch checks as ſhould prevent miſchiefs to the public. The board therefore came to the reſolution of recommending Mahomed Reza Kawn, being the fitteſt man for their purpoſe. The immediate collection of the revenues was to be under Roy Dulub, and others devoted to the company, who were become ſo intereſted in the buſineſs of the collections, that they aſſumed a right of remonſtrating, when people who did not concur into their meaſures, were employed.

The annual fall of rupees had been conſidered as a very great grievance to that country: it was therefore made a ſtipulation in the treaty with Nujum zel Dowlah, that he would make jointly with the

the board, proper regulations for removing ſo great a grievance. The company's deputies, as was expected, met with great oppoſition from Nund-comer, an artful and ambitious man, whoſe own power was to be ſo greatly leſſened by the new treaty, propoſed to the nabob. The chief objection that the nabob made, was, to the nomination of Mahomed Reza Kawn, of whom Nundcomer had infuſed to his maſter ſo great a degree of jealouſy, that the deputies found the nabob ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with an idea, that the council meant to place Mahomed Reza Kawn on the miſnud. The deputies having given him ſolemn aſſurances, that there was no ſuch deſign, the young nabob was at laſt convinced. They were particularly earneſt to have the treaty executed, as they learned that Nudjum al Dowlah, by advice of Nundcomer, had applied for ſunnuds from the king, intending to take poſſeſſion of the provinces by virtue thereof, previous to any ſtipulation with the company; and, on the very day for ſeating Nudjum al Dowlah on the miſnud, under the influence of the company, he ſent word that the ſunnuds were arrived, and it was with ſome difficulty, he was prevailed upon to poſtpone the public receipt of them. The board had expreſſed an opinion, that if ſunnuds were neceſſary, they ſhould be obtained only through the influence of the company, and were diſpleaſed that Nundcomer had applied for them without their concurrence.

The new treaty having been executed, and Mahomed Reza Kawn having been received by the nabob as his miniſter, the deputies proſecuted the other object of their commiſſion, which was to obtain

tain such a knowledge of the revenues, as might enable the board to give their sentiments to the nabob on the allotments necessary to be made in the collections. To this Nundcomer gave the utmost opposition, as an enquiry into the revenues was sure to discover any mismanagement of his. The subsequent orders of the board, with respect to Nundcomer, gave the nabob great offence. Mr. George Vansittart had brought down from Patna some strong presumptive evidence, of his having carried on a treacherous correspondence with the enemies of the company, during the war with Sujah Dowlah; upon which, the council positively directed, that Nundcomer should be sent down to Calcutta, to answer the charge. The nabob was very unwilling to part with Nundcomer, but the board persisting in their order, he was sent down to Calcutta.

It was with extreme concern, Mr. Vansittart and his council were driven to the necessity of allowing the forces of the company to pass the boundaries of the Bengal provinces, as the court of directors had frequently expressed a wish, that their servants would not extend their territorial objects. The unprovoked invasion of Sujah Dowlah compelled them to deviate from that line. The battle of Buxar put the English forces immediately in possession of the county of Gassipore; and as it was impracticable for the governor and council, after that event, to withdraw their forces back to their provinces, they resolved to ask the king for sunnuds for that province, as an aid towards defraying the great expences of the army.

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When the treaty with Nudjumul Dowlah was concluded, lord Clive was expected to come with extraordinary powers; but, it was impoſſible for the council who were there, to have left the ſucceſſion to the muſnud ſo long in ſuſpence, as to have waited his arrival. It would have been equally improper to have allowed the young nabob to exerciſe the powers of government without entering into ſtipulations with him on behalf of the company; beſides, that the leaving of an event of that importance to the country undetermined, would, probably, have created much miſchief and confuſion with reſpect to the collections, and every other object of ſtate, and no member of the board propoſed to wait till lord Clive's arrival.

But to return to Nundcomer, he was confined immediately upon his arrival at Calcutta, and was not permitted to leave his houſe without permiſſion from the governor. A moſt glaring injuſtice, as the board had no right whatſoever to ſend for him to Calcutta, nor was he obliged to anſwer the charges they had brought againſt him for miſconduct in his office as miniſter to the nabob. Had the accuſation been proved or not, the board had no power to compel Nundcomer to ſubmit to their juriſdiction, though he might not perhaps have diſputed it. It was not till ſome months after his arrival at Calcutta that he was examined by the board.

The opinion of the court of directors upon the conduct of the company's ſervants, in the courſe of the war againſt Coſſim Ally Kawn, did not coincide with the demand that had been made of the Gaſſipore country, and the intention of conquering

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Sujah Dowlah's dominions for the king. They required them to adopt ſome ſyſtem, which might clearly mark out the barriers of the country government, and the company's territories; and ordering the ſtricteſt enquiry to be made, whether any contribution had been exacted by the ſervants from the nabob Nudjumul Dowlah on his acceſſion to the ſubahſhip.

It ſeems that the annual amount of the nabob of Bengal's revenues, after payment of the ſum ſtipulated by treaty, was about two millions ſterling.

In the courſe of the examination before the committee appointed by the houſe of commons, mention was made of preſents, to the ſervants of the company, and having purſued their inquiries thereupon, they gave the houſe a ſummary and comprehenſive view of the whole they had hitherto diſcovered upon an object ſo important, and thought proper to add the following ſchedule.

Account of ſuch ſums as have been proved or acknowledged before the ſelect committee appointed by the houſe of commons, to have been diſtributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal, from the year 1757 to the year 1766, both incluſive; diſtinguiſhing the principal times of the ſaid diſtributions, and ſpecifying the ſums received by each perſon reſpectively.

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier in 1757.

Mr. Drake, (governor.) £. 31,500

Colo-

Colonel Clive as ſecond in the ſelect committee - - -	
Ditto, as commander in chief -	
Ditto, as a private donation - £.	234,000
Roy Dulip, who had the principal management in the diſtribution of the treaſury of the murdered nabob Serajah Dowlah, received upon the acceſſion of Jaffier Ally Kawn as a preſent from colonel Clive, one lack, 25,000 rupees, being five per cent on 25 lack	
Mr. Watts, as a member of the committee, 240,000 rupees - -	
Ditto as a private donation - £.	800,000
Major Kilpatrick - - -	27,000
Ditto as a private donation -	33,750
Mr. Maningham - - -	27,000
Mr. Becher - - -	27,000
Six members of council, one lack each	68,200
Mr. Walſh - - -	56,250
Mr. Scrafton - - -	22,500
Mr. Luſhington - -	5,625
Captain Grant - - -	11,250
Stipulation to the navy and army -	600,600
£.	1,261,075

Lord Clive's jaghire was likewiſe obtained at this period.

Revolution in favour of Coſſim, 1760.

Mr. Sumner - - -	28,000
Mr. Holwell - - -	30,937
Mr. Mc Guire - -	20,625
Carried over	79,562

Mr.

Brought forward	79,562
Mr. Smith - - -	15,354
Major York - - -	15,354
General Callad - -	12,916
Mr. Vanſittart, 1762, received five lacks	58,333
Mr. Mc. Guire 5000 gold mohurs -	8,750
£.	200,262

Revolution in favour of Jaffier, 1763.

Stipulation to the army - -	291,666
Ditto to the navy - -	145,833
£.	437,499

Major Munro in 1764, received from Bulwantſing - -	10,000
It appears colonel Munro accepted from the king a jaghire of which he delivered to the nabob Meer Jaffier as mentioned before - -	12,500
Ditto from the nabob - -	3,000
The officers belonging to major Munro's family from ditto - -	3,000
The army received from the merchants at Banaras - -	46,666
£.	62,666

Nujum

Nujum al Dowlah's acceſſion, 1765.

Mr. Spencer	£. 23,333
Meſſrs. Playdell, Burdett and Gray, one lack each	35,000
Mr. Johnſtone	27,650
Mr. Lexeſter	13,125
Mr. Senior	20,125
Mr. Middleton	14,291
Mr. Gidçon Johnſtone	5,833
	£. 139,357

General Carnac received from Bulwantſing, in 1765	9,333
Ditto from the king	23,333
Lord Clive received from the begum in 1766.	58,333

Reſtitution, Jaffier 1757.

Eaſt India company	1,200,000
Europeans	600,000
Natives	250,000
Armenians	100,000
	£. 2,150,000

Coſſim, 1760.

Eaſt India company	£. 62,500

Jaffier, 1763.

Eaſt India company -	375,000
Europeans, natives, &c. -	600,000
	£. 975,000

Peace with Sujah Dowlah.

Eaſt India company - -	£. 583,333
Total of preſents - -	2,169,665
Reſtitution, &c. - -	3,770,833
Total amount, excluſive of lord Clive's jaghire. - -	£. 5,940,498

That rupees are valued according to the rate of exchange of the company's bills at different periods.

The committee next ſtated to the houſe their inquiries into the tranſactions of the company's ſervants, relative to the affairs in Bengal, from the date of lord Clive's government in the year 1764, and they found that on the ſecond of May of that year, lord Clive then in England, was ſworn in preſident and governor of Bengal, and commander in chief of the forces there, and that Meſſieurs Sumner and Sykes, then alſo in England, were appointed counſellors at that preſidency, the former to ſucceed to that government. And the committee

tee further found, that lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, general Carnac, Mr. Verelſt and Mr. Sykes, were appointed a ſelect committee, by a letter of the court of directors, dated the firſt of June 1764. Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Sykes ſailed from England for India the 4th of June 1764, and arrived at Madraſs the ſecond of April 1765; and the committee being informed that lord Clive, in conſequence of the intelligence he received at Madraſs, of the ſituation of the company's affairs in Bengal, had wrote from thence two letters of material conſequence; which did not ſtand upon the company's records, the one to Mr. Rous, the other to Mr. Walſh, and partly in cypher, they proceeded to inquire into that tranſaction; and for that purpoſe they examined Peter Michel, Eſq; who being aſked if he knew of any letter written in cypher from lord Clive to Mr. Walſh in 1765. He ſaid, he had ſuch a letter; that it was dated the 17th of April, and was delivered to him by Mr. James, the late ſecretary, as an official paper. That the original letter appeared to have been put into Mr. James's hands by Mr. Rous, about the 29th of March 1766, part of it being in cypher, in order to be decyphered, the key of the cypher being in poſſeſſion of Mr. James, whom a day or two afterwards delivered it to the witneſs, that he might decypher it; which being done, he returned it, together with the decyphered copy to Mr. James, by whoſe direction he afterwards made another copy of it, which he alſo delivered to Mr. James; upon his quitting the office; it again came into the poſſeſſion of the witneſs: being aſked whether any of the directors, except the members of the ſecret com-

committee, at that time knew of any thing of that letter? he ſaid, he believed not; and that he did not know what become of the original letter: and two letters were produced, that to Mr. Rous, containing various intelligence and opinions of lord Clive, reſpecting the affairs of Bengal; that to Mr. Walſh, containing directions to his lordſhip's attornies, to make purchaſes in India ſtock, and the following is an exact copy of part of the ſaid letters.

Madras, April 17, 1765.

To Thomas Rous, Eſq;

Dear Sir,

"We arrived at this place the 10th inſtant, and ſhall proceed to Bengal next Saturday. The prince of Wales kept us company the greateſt part of the way to Ceylon, and is, by this time, I hope, at her deſtined port, all well. I muſt enter with you into the politics of India. The particulars of our late ſucceſs, and now very flouriſhing condition of the company's affairs in Indoſtan, you well have been informed at large, before this reaches you. I ſhall therefore only trouble you with my ſentiments, in conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes, and truſt to your co-operating with me in carrying into execution, and in eſtabliſhing upon the moſt ſolid baſis, ſuch parts of my plan, as appear capable of anſwering, that we have both ſo diſintereſtedly at heart, the company's honour and proſperity.

We

We have at laſt arrived at that critical period which I have long foreſeen; I mean, that period which renders it neceſſary for us to determine, whether we can, or ſhall take the whole to ourſelves. Jaffier Ally Kawn is dead, and his natural ſon is a minor; but I know not whether he is yet declared ſucceſſor. Sujah Dowlah is beat from his dominions; we are in poſſeſſion of it, and it is ſcarcely hyperbole to ſay, to-morrow, the whole Mogul empire is in our power. The inhabitants of the country, we know, by long experience, have no attachment to any obligation; their forces are neither diſciplined, commanded, nor paid, as ours are. Can it then be doubted, that a large army of Europeans will effectually preſerve us ſovereigns, not only holding in awe the attempts of any country prince, but by rendering us ſo truly formidable, that no French, Dutch, or other enemy will preſume to moleſt us. You will, I am ſure imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the princes of Indoſtan muſt conclude our views to be boundleſs; they have ſeen ſuch inſtances of our ambition, that they cannot ſuppoſe us capable of moderation. The very nabobs whom we might ſupport, would be either covetous of our poſſeſſions, or jealous of our powers. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to deſtroy us; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us, for the dethroning of the firſt nabob, would be followed by the ſetting up of another; who, from the ſame principles, would when his treaſure admitted of his keeping up an army, purſue the very path of his predeceſſor. We muſt, indeed, become nabobs ourſelves in fact, if not in name, perhaps totally

totally ſo without diſguiſe ; but, on this ſubject I cannot be certain untill my arrival in Bengal. Let us, and without delay, complete our three European regiments to 1000 men each ; ſuch an army, together with 500 light cavalry, three or four companies of artillery, and the forces of the country will certainly render us invincible. In ſhort, if riches and ſecurity are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method, now for ſecuring them. Our troops you will hear, are at this time above half way to Dehli, a march I highly diſapprove of ; I mean abſolutely to bound our poſſeſſions and conqueſts to Bengal. Never ſhall the going to Dehli be a plan adopted by me, if poſſible to be avoided ; and you may depend upon my putting a ſtop to it ; nor ſhould I even have thought of going ſuch lengths, if others had not rendered it neceſſary. I could have wiſhed that our operations had been carried on upon a plan of more moderation, and that we had not been obliged to maintain any other military force, than what might be ſufficient to preſerve and purſue our commercial advantages ; but, ſince our views are extended, and ſince commerce alone is not the whole of the company's ſupport, we muſt go forward, to retract is impoſſible. One word more ; increaſe our army to the eſtabliſhment above mentioned : 20,000 ſmall arms, with gun powder ſufficient, and remember that the light cavalry are moſt neceſſary. The eſtabliſhment for Madraſs is ſufficient, no addition is wanted there ; but Bengal requires your attention, &c."

To avoid repetition, we ſhall omit the laſt part of the letter relative to the civil department.

(Copy.)

(Copy.)

" Dear Walſh. Madraſs, April 17, 1765.

Memorandum: thoſe parts in cypher are diſtinguiſhed thus: " I have deſired Mr. Rous to furniſh you with a copy of my letter to him of this day's date; likewiſe with the cypher, that you may be enabled to underſtand what follows. " Whatever money I have in the public funds, or any " where elſe, and as much can be borrowed in " my name, I deſire may be without loſs of a minute inveſted in Eaſt-India ſtock. You will " ſpeak to my attornies on this point; let them " know I am anxious to have my money ſo diſpoſed of, and preſs them to preſs the affair as " much as poſſible, &c."

Mr. Dudley, who was deputy chairman of the Eaſt India company at the time lord Clive's letter to Mr. Walſh arrived in England, informed the committee, appointed by the houſe of commons, that only Meſſieurs Rous, Boulton, and himſelf were preſent when it was read, and the court of directors were not acquainted with the contents of it, as the three gentlemen mentioned did not communicate the intelligence, that lord Clive had given orders to lay out all his money in the India ſtock, to the proprietors, not the court of directors. The purport of the letter to Mr. Walſh was never laid before the whole ſecret committee of the Eaſt-India company; the letter to Mr. Rous was read to the court of directors, except the laſt paragraph, which mentioned that there was a letter to

Mr.

Mr. Walſh: indeed, they had no power to ſuppreſs any part of a letter on the public ſervice.

Lord Clive being examined by the committee, was aſked whether it was his intention that his letter to Mr. Rous, in cypher of the 17th of April 1765, ſhould be kept a ſecret; he ſaid, he meant that Mr. Walſh ſhould not divulge the contents of his, becauſe it was of a political nature. The reaſons why he repoſed ſuch a confidence in this agent are very obvious, as Mr. Walſh was not in any public ſituation whatever, reſpecting the Eaſt India company, but his lordſhip's truſty friend, to whom he communicated all his domeſtic concerns. Lord Clive ſaid, that Mr. Walſh had formerly been a ſervant of the company's abroad for many years, and from the revolution of Plaſſey, till a conſiderable time afterwards, was his ſecretary, and was intruſted with all the political tranſactions during the time that his lordſhip had the command of the army, and likewiſe part of the time of his government in Bengal.

In order to vilify Mr. Vanſittart's adminiſtration, lord Clive declared, that he was informed of the company's ſervants carrying on the trade in ſalt at firſt duty-free, and afterwards, on paying two and a half per cent. was all contrary to the company's orders; that he was ſure, when Mr. Vanſittart had eſtabliſhed by agreement with Coſſim, the duty of nine per cent. the majority of the council denied Mr. Vanſittart's authority, and inſiſted upon their right to trade duty-free, by virtue of the royal firmaun; at the ſame time, that they inſiſted that Coſſim Ally Kawn ſhould not ſuffer his own ſubjects to trade duty-free. He mentioned

the

the complaints of the inhabitants that the company's ſervants, and the agents acting under them, had engroſſed and monopoliſed the whole trade of the country; and his lordſhip being requeſted to ſpecify any particular complaint, declined it. Indeed, lord Clive, whoſe government was defamed by the moſt notorious, and the moſt oppreſſive, monopolies, ſhould have been ſilent upon Mr. Vanſittart's conduct in this reſpect. He arraigned the conduct of the ſame gentleman in regard to the treaty which he made at Mongheer, agreeing to pay nine per cent. and commended the council for having refuſed to conform to it, becauſe it was improper in his lordſhip's opinion, and they ought to have paid a great deal more; neither did his lordſhip think Mr. Vanſittart was authoriſed to conclude a treaty without laying it before the council; and that general Carnac, Mr. Verelſt, and Mr. Cartier, gave it as their opinion, that the company's ſervants had a right to trade duty-free by the royal firmaun; and, with reſpect to the duty of nine per cent. the noble lord declared, he had no right to conclude ſuch a treaty with the nabob; and that he conſidered the inhabitants of Bengal as ſubjects to the nabob, becauſe the mogul's power was annihilated. His lordſhip denied having formed a reſolution at Madraſs to ſeize the dewannee, diſmiſſed part of the company's ſervants, and to call ſome of the ſenior ſervants from the other ſettlements to fill up their places, upon his arrival at Bengal.

Mr. Walſh informed the committee, that he was one of lord Clive's attorneys, when he was abroad, and being aſked what quantity of India ſtock he

purchaſed for lord Clive, in conſequence of the letter in cypher from Madraſs to him, April 17, 1765. He ſaid, that lord Clive's attornies did not buy for him above 12,000l. principal ſtock, in the interval between the time that he received his lordſhip's letter, and the arrival of the packet, which brought public advices from lord Clive, then at Bengal, relative to our being in poſſeſſion of the dewannee; that it was ſold out, and diſpoſed of to complete a purchaſe of land that lord Clive had made. That a great part of lord Clive's ſaid ſtock was bought at 165l. that after the arrival of the packet, ſome ſtock was bought for lord Clive at 175l. and ſome at 179l. and that India ſtock remained at 190l. three or four months afterwards: and being aſked the amount of the other purchaſes made for lord Clive? he ſaid, That after the arrival of the public advices, there was bought on the 21ſt of April 13,000l. at 175l. and 5000l. at 179l. on the 9th of May, being the whole that was bought for lord Clive when he was abroad: and he added, that lord Clive's letter to him, was delivered to him by lady Clive, at the ſame time that Mr. Rous received his letter, they being both at her ladyſhip's houſe. That Mr. Rous and the witneſs went to the India-houſe together, to have their letters decyphered: that, as it was Sunday, neither the chairman nor deputy-chairman were there, without whoſe orders the letters could not be decyphered: that he therefore left his letter with Mr. Rous till he could obtain that permiſſion, and went the next day to the India houſe and received from the Chairman, the contents of his letter decyphered; being aſked if he could enumerate any of thoſe perſons

who

who made purchaſes of Eaſt India ſtock, in conſequence of the good opinion he had declared concerning it, as mentioned in the former part of his evidence, he ſaid he could not. That from the nomination of lord Clive to go abroad, the witneſs entertained hopes that great advantage would enſue to the company, and was in conſequence a large ſtock holder on himſelf; that, he therefore probably ſpoke of the advantageous ſituation of the company, before the receipt of lord Clive's letter; that he judged afterwards by the direction from lord Clive to purchaſe ſtock for him, that it was a beneficial thing, and being aſked how many attornies lord Clive had at that time, he ſaid five, to all of whom an extract of ſuch part of the above-mentioned letter, as related to the purchaſe of the Eaſt India ſtock was communicated.

The committee found that lord Clive, Meſſieurs Sumner and Sykes, arrived at Calcutta on the 3d of May 1765, and took their ſeats at the council on the 5th. That on the 7th they aſſembled as members of the ſelect committee, aſſuming the whole power of the ſettlement, civil and military, and that they adminiſtered to themſelves and their ſecretaries, an oath of ſecrecy; that they acquainted general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt, the other members of the committee, named by the court of directors with thoſe determinations, and acquired the immediate attendance of Mr. Verelſt, then chief at Chattigong; general Carnac being at that time at the head of the army in the province of Oude. That lord Clive opened the committee, by a letter containing the full declaration of his lordſhip's own intentions, venturing to aſſert that anarchy, confuſion

ſion, an almoſt general corruption has diſgraced Mr. Vanſittart's government, and that the critical ſituation of the company; which was on the contrary moſt flouriſhing, as his lordſhip himſelf had acknowledged in his letter to Mr. Rous, rendered it abſolutely indiſpenſible, for the ſpeedy ſettling of their affairs, that the power ſhould be veſted in the hands of a few. As the ſelect committee was at his lordſhip's command, it was natural for the noble preſident to wiſh the excluſion of part of the council, in regard to the meaſures he was reſolved to purſue.

The firſt reſolves of the committee were, to re-call free merchants reſiding up the country, with an order to the chiefs of the ſeveral ſubordinate factories to convey in ſafety to Calcutta, all who ſhould refuſe to comply with this meaſure, with an injunction to tranſmit accurate liſts of all Europeans not immediately in the company's ſervice, who reſided in or about their reſpective diſtricts.

His excellency the nabob having, immediately on his arrival at Calcutta, and previous to any enquiries into his ſituation, delivered a letter to the noble preſident, addreſſed to his lordſhip and the gentlemen of the ſecret committee. A tranſlation of the above letter was read: according to the facts advanced in this letter, the committee were of opinion, that Mahomed Reza Kawn, ſince the death of the late nabob, had diſtributed among certain perſons near twenty lacks of rupees. This *immaculate* committee declared, that it was incumbent upon them to diſcover to whom ſuch ſums had been paid, and for what conſideration, in order that the moſt effectual meaſures be purſued

ſued to remedy for the preſent, and to prevent for the future, any dangerous conſequences which may have ariſen, or which may ariſe, not only to the country government, but likewiſe to the company, from ſuch practices. Theſe pretended reformers proved afterwards more corrupt and more rapacious, than any of their predeceſſors.

Tho ſubſtance of the letter from his excellency the nabob Najim O Dowlah to the noble preſident and the committee was, that his father had deſigned him his ſucceſſor, and that Meſſieurs Johnſtone and Leyceſter came to Coſſimbuzar a few days after Jaffier's deceaſe, as deputies from the board at Calcutta, to direct the young nabob's councils, and injoin him to ſend for Mahomed Reza Kawn from Dacca, and ſet him as naib of the nizamut. This troubled him much, as they told him alſo, he muſt not ſit in the dewan connah, and muſt live in the ſame place where he was putting a ſtop to all public buſineſs, till the arrival of Mahomed Reza Kawn, whom he ſuſpected to have had long ago evil intentions on the nizamut; that his father deemed him always as his enemy; and beſides, there was a large ſum due from him to the ſircar. Mr. Johnſtone declared to the young nabob, that unleſs he immediately ſigned an inſtrument, which he offered to him, he ſhould have no great chance of being in poſſeſſion of the ſubahdary. The young nabob complained of having been compelled to ſign it. After this, Mahomed Reza Kawn arrived, and ſat as naib. For the better ſecuring his poſt, he diſtributed above twenty lacks of rupees among ſuch people as he thought proper, and this without

out the young nabob's knowledge. That the ſaid Mahomed Reza Kawn made Mr. Johnſtone his protector, and Mr. Leyceſter his vakeel. He kept the nabob's ſeal under his own ſeal, and nothing was to be done without his will or order. He diſtributed titles, employments, kelcuts, elephants, and jewels, to others at pleaſure. The young nabob complained, that he was much diſtreſſed for money for paying his ſervants wages and other current expences. He concluded, by reflecting on Mr. Johnſtone's bad treatment after his father's death, and on Mahomed Reza Kawn abuſing of the power veſted in him, by the ſtation to which he had been raiſed.

The circumſtances of the gentlemen of council, application for preſents from the nabob, were as follow, according to Mahomed Reza Kawn's narrative: after his excellency had been ſeated on the muſnud, ſeveral members of the council ſaid to him, the gentlemen who have aſſiſted Firmaun Nazing, have obtained preſents; now that we have ſeated his excellency on the miſnud, and rendered him ſervice, we hope he will make preſents to us: Do you repreſent this to his excellency? I anſwered, "Do you remember yourſelves mention it." At length, as they were earneſt with me, and I perceived they would be offended at my refuſal, I repreſented it to his excellency in conformity to their deſire: his excellency ſaid to me, "It muſt be done; do you make out a liſt, and bring it me:" I replied, "Your excellency is the maſter; yourſelf determine upon whatever may be your pleaſure." Accordingly an account of the preſents for the gentlemen was made out, before the nabob's

bob's face, and given under his hand and ſeal to Mr. Johnſtone, in the preſence of all the four gentlemen; after three or four days, Mr. Johnſtone carried this paper to the nabob, and ſaid, "If your excellency has given this paper unwillingly, and contrary to your inclination, we do not want it." His excellency anſwered, "I have given it to you of my own pleaſure and inclination." After this converſation had paſſed, Mr. Johnſtone ſaid, "What ſhall we do with a bare paper?" let orders be given to Mahomed Reza Kawn for the payment of the money. His excellency, accordingly commanded me to pay the money agreeable to the paper: I made ſome day's delay, and upon Mr. Johnſtone and the other gentlemen making again a demand upon me, I preſented the following petition to his excellency, "with regard to giving the money for the gentlemen's preſent, whatſoever is your excellency's pleaſure. His excellency ſigned thereon; "Let Mahomed Reza Kawn pay it." Accordingly 875,000 rupees were given to nine gentlemen, 250,000 by four bills upon the houſe of Seats, the date of the payment thereof will appear from their books, and the remaining 625,000 in ready money from the treaſury.

6th of June, 1765.

A true tranſlation.

George Vanſittart, Perſian tranſlator.

When the gentlemen demanded an acknowledgment from Mahomed Reza Kawn, he aſked, "Is not

not this to be a general affair, and are not the other gentlemen to have a ſhare, &c." To this they replied, "No, this muſt be for us: let them look to themſelves.

Account of preſents from the nabob:

Mr. Spencer received	rupees	100,000
Mr. Playdelt		50,000
Mr. Burdett		50,000
Mr. Gray		50,000
Mr. Johnſtone		237,000
Mr. Middleton		112,500
Mr. Senior		112,500
Mr. Leyceſter		112,500
Mr. Johnſtone's younger brother		50,000
Total		875,000
Remained due		350,000
Total		1,225,000

George Vanſittart, Perſian tranſlator.

With regard to the preſents which Mahomed Reza Kawn made to the gentlemen of council, the ſtate of the caſe is this. Mr. Johnſtone ſent him a meſſage by Mootgram, as follows: "Whereas you have been appointed his excellency's naib, it is proper that you make us ſome preſents for yourſelf." He repreſented his ſituation, that he would do what was in his power, but that he could not

nos furniſh any great matter. In the end the ſum of 475,000 rupees was agreed upon, of which he paid 225,000 and 250,000 remained due, according to the under-written particulars.

Account of the preſents from Mahomed Reza Kawn.

Mr. Johnſtone received	rupees 100,000
Mr. Leyceſter - - -	50,000
Mr. Senior - - -	50,000
Mr. Johnſtone's younger brother -	25,000
Total for Mr. Johnſtone and Co.	225,000
Mr. Spencer received at different times	90,000
Total	315,000
Due	250,000
Total	565,000

A true tranſlation.

George Vanſittart, Perſian tranſlator.

The ſum total received by the above-mentioned gentlemen from the nabob, Mahomed Reza Kawn, and Juggut Seat, was 1,240,000 rupees.

Remained unpaid 675,000

According to Juggut Seat's narrative, when Mr. Johnſtone, and the other gentlemen of council, went to Murſhadabad, and applied themſelves to the regulation of the whole ſubahdary,

they ſent him the following meſſage by Mootgram. "Make us ſome acknowledgment, and we will ſettle all our buſineſs accordingly, according to your heart's deſire, otherwiſe we ſhall be diſpleaſed, and your buſineſs meet with no aſſiſtance; for you formerly made an acknowledgment to lord Clive and other gentlemen; being remedileſs, he conſented to give 125,000 rupees, 50,000 immediately, and the reſt when he could collect his debts from the country.

The committee of the houſe of commons thinking the proceedings of the ſelect committee of Bengal of great importance for the houſe to know diſtinctly, divided their inquiries reſpecting thoſe proceedings into the following heads.

1ſt. The meaſures they took reſpecting the execution of covenants.

2d. Recalling the European agents.

3d. Their examination into the nabob's complaints.

4th. The eſtabliſhment of the treaty, purporting to be a treaty of peace with Sujah Dowlah, and the acquiſition of the Dewannee.

5th. Eſtabliſhment and progreſs of the ſalt ſociety, and other matters relative to that trade.

They found that the committee of Bengal had reſolved to enforce immediately the execution of the new covenants againſt receiving preſents, by the ſervants of the company from the Indian powers, in virtue of a letter from the directors; the committee did not diſcover from the records, that this matter had been brought under the conſideration of the council-board; nor had any notice been given to the other ſervants of the company, that they were

were required to execute ſuch covenants. In regard to the tranſactions of recalling European merchants, it appeared, that the ſelect committee reſolved to recall all free-merchants reſiding up the country, within one month after notice; and that orders were ſent to the chiefs of ſubordinate factories to convey in ſafety to Calcutta all who refuſed to comply.

The oppreſſions and enormous abuſes committed in conſequence of this order, have ſufficiently expoſed thoſe who have enforced the execution of ſuch arbitrary mandates againſt law and equity.

In regard to ſums diſtributed among certain perſons by Mahomed Reza Kawn, ſince the death of the late nabob, ſaid to amount to near twenty lacks of rupees; it was proved, that Mr. Johnſtone, had actually received the ſeveral ſums of money and bills; ſpecified for his uſe, in the general accounts of Mahomed Reza Kawn, and Juggut Seat. He appeared from the evidences entered in the proceedings of the committee appointed by the houſe of commons, to have been a principal agent and manager, in obtaining and diſtributing the preſents; but unacquainted, they would willingly ſuppoſe, with the menaces uſed by Mooteram in his name to Mahomed Reza Kawn and Juggut Seat, in order to extort a ſum of money from the latter, for the uſe of the deputation; and laſtly, that he had been guilty of actual diſobedience to the company's orders, in arraigning indecently, and refuſing poſitively to acknowledge, the authority wherewith the ſelect committee were inveſted, by the honourable the court of directors, and by urging their uſurped

ped powers in excuſe for declining any reply to charges that ſo deeply affect his character.

That Mr. Senior had received all the money ſpecified for his uſe in the evidence already mentioned, and alſo, the further ſum of 50,000 rupees from Mahommed Reza Kawn on his own account, but that he neither authorized the meſſages delivered by Mooteram, nor was active in obtaining or diſtributing the preſents. That Mr. Middleton had received preſents from the nabob and Juggut Seat only, firmly believing them to be voluntary; and that he always intended to refuſe the preſents deſigned him by Mahomed Reza Kawn.

That Mr. Leyceſter had received the ſeveral ſums affixed to his name, in the above-mentioned accounts, but that he neither did, nor intended to receive the bill, lodged with Mooteram for his uſe, nor was any ways concerned in the menaces thrown out by that perſon to Mahomed Reza Kawn and Juggut Seat.

That Meſſieurs Playdell, Burdett and Gray, received each 50,000 rupees from the nabob, in the full perſuaſion that the ſame was a free gift to the gentlemen who then compoſed the board, without any application on their parts, or conſideration on the nabob's for ſervices performed.

That Mr. Cartier was utterly a ſtranger to any demands made in his name, and that he would abſolutely have refuſed a lack of rupees intended for him by the nabob, had it been ever tendered to him.

That upon the whole, the gentlemen who ſat at the board, as well as thoſe who negociated at the durbar, were guilty of actual diſobedience to the com-

company's positive orders relative to the covenants, both in delaying to execute them, and in receiving presents contrary to the express letter and spirit of these obligations.

It appeared to the committee, from a narrative of Mahomed Reza Kawn, transmitted to lord Clive, who was then at Mootejil, that he had related facts with great candour and precision, confirming in the strongest manner, the several particulars set forth in his former evidence. That he had positively asserted, and with the greatest appearance of truth, that neither the presents from the nabob, nor from himself, were voluntary, but granted after some altercation and tedious negociations with the gentlemen of the deputation. That Mr. Johnstone at first desired a very large sum, but after a great deal of debate, and many conferences, Mooteram consented to accept 6,25,000 rupees from the nabob, and 475,000 rupees from Mahomed Reza Kawn; of which sum the whole was paid by the nabob, and 225,000 by Mahomed Reza Kawn, in money and bills; that over and above 137,500 rupees, which Mr. Johnstone obtained from the nabob, as a joint member and senior servant on the deputation; the same gentleman stipulated, that 100,000 rupees for himself, and 50,000 rupees for his brother, should be paid secretly from all the other gentlemen; that besides the above sums clandestinely obtained from the nabob, Mr. Johnstone as principal agent and manager, thought proper, without the consent or knowledge of his colleagues, likewise to appropriate 50,000 rupees to himself, and 25,000 to his brother, out of the money granted Maho-

Mahomed Reza Kawn, over and above his allowed proportion as member of the deputation.

Mr. Sykes being called before the committee of the houſe of commons, and being aſked what part of the political conduct of the governor and council of Bengal he meant to find fault; ſaid, he concurred with general Carnac in diſapproving the appointment of Mahomed Reza Kawn with ſuch extenſive powers; and added, that he blamed the gentlemen who ſettled the treaty with Nujum al Dowlah, for omitting the opportunity they then had of conſtituting a fund adequate to the expences the company were obliged to be at in protecting the country. That the revenues were left too much at the mercy of individuals, and he thought the natural effect of theſe arrangements would be to put the nabob in ſuch a ſituation, as to enable him to with-hold the neceſſary payment to the army, which whenever he did pay it was with reluctance. That he diſapproved of making the concurrence and approbation of the governor and council neceſſary to the appointment and diſmiſſion of the nabob's officers, and objected to the appointment of Nujum al Dowlah to the muſnud, in preference to Myr Jaffier's grandſon, particularly as the grandſon had been declared the legal heir, and Chuta nabob, in the public durbar, by Myr Jaffier in the preſence of the witneſs, in the year 1760, ſoon after the death of the nabob Meer Jaffier's ſon Meeram; that there were four or five hundred officers of the government preſent at the ceremony, and that he received a dreſs on the occaſion.

With reſpect to the money that had been taken, the following paragraph in the nabob's letter proved the

the fact to be true. "After Mahomed Rezâ Kawn had ſat as naib, he, for the better eſtabliſhing himſelf in the naibſhip, diſtributed above twenty lacks of rupees among ſuch people as he thought proper, without my knowledge."

To enable the houſe to form further judgment upon the evidence given to the ſelect committee of Bengal, Mr. Gregory, who had been converſant in the cuſtoms of India, being aſked, from the natural diſpoſition of the natives of Bengal, what credit could be given to the evidence of an officer in the country government, when ſeiſed and ſurrounded by military guards? he ſaid, he could give but very little credit to an evidence ſo given: that he apprehended a native of that country, examined under apprehenſions of his own ſafety, would give the evidence that would tend moſt to his own advantage. And he farther informed the committee of the houſe of commons, that if there is any thing criminal likely to come out againſt the man, and a place of refuge near at hand, he ſuppoſed there was neceſſity in India of uſing a force to detain him, otherwiſe not. That in point of cuſtom of the country government, they generally uſed violence, and brought witneſſes to the place where they wanted to examine them; but that it had not been cuſtomary in the company's ſettlements.

And in regard to oaths among Gentoos, the witneſs, ſaid he believed, under the form of oath delivered to the Gentoos, their teſtimony is to be depended upon as well as others, though there have been inſtances in which they have been found guilty of perjury; and that he did not know any inſtance

inſtance of Gentoos having quitted their habitations upon their being called on as evidences; and unleſs their lives or effects were in danger, or their caſh taken from them, he did not apprehend they would. Major Grant, who had been reſident in India nearly ſeven years, being examined to the ſame point, confirmed the opinion of the foregoing witneſs, relative to the ſame degree of credit to be given to natives of Bengal examined under a guard. And being aſked, whether he would diſregard the evidence of the natives of that country, though given under the forms of oaths, which are reckoned moſt binding, according to the different ſects? he ſaid, that under the circumſtances already mentioned of confinement, and the dread of conſequences, he ſhould not pay that regard to their evidence that he otherwiſe ſhould, unleſs there were other concurring teſtimonies to inforce it. And being aſked, what regard has generally been given to the evidence of natives of all ſects, when called upon at a court-martial to give evidence in caſes of life and death? he ſaid, he had never ſeen any inſtance of that kind before a court-martial, but imagined the court would pay every deference to an evidence where it appeared there was no influence or intereſt in view; that he had never ſat on a court-martial, though he had occaſionally attended the court in Calcutta, but never the trial out; was never preſent at any inſtance of a witneſs being examined under a military guard. The committee found, by the proceedings on the trial of Ram Charn, which were read, that the moſt ſolemn manner of ſwearing the witneſſes, according

according to the Gentoo religion is with Tootſy and the Ganges water upon the cow's back, and oath being adminiſtered by a bramin from Galicott.

General Carnac being queſtioned to the ſame point, ſaid, it was cuſtomary, with reſpect to the natives of India, to place the guards, or peons, over perſons who were to be examined; that there was no miniſters of public juſtice, but armed men; and he thought it neceſſary to place a guard over Mooteram, becauſe he was under accuſation; that in regard to oaths of Gentoos, he believed from their ſuperſtitious zeal, and their ſtrong attachment even to martyrdom to their ancient rights, they are held very ſacred.

Mooteram was examined under a guard, by direction of lord Clive, on an information, he ſaid, he had received of his having the bills and money tranſactions mentioned above, in his particular care, and that he was ſeized to prevent his eſcape.

The ſelect committee taking into conſideration many attempts which had been made to deſtroy the unanimity, and corrupt the integrity of the company's ſervants, both ſeperately and jointly by the nabob, through the influence of Nundcomer, and other ill-diſpoſed perſons, who were admitted into his preſence, reſolved, that all the intercourſe with the nabob, his miniſters, and the country powers, be maintained and conducted by the right honourable the preſident, who had made a ſpecious profeſſion of his diſintereſtedneſs, though his plan, previouſly concerted with his committee,

proved afterwards a complete ſyſtem of monopoly and rapacioufneſs. Mr. Sykes, whoſe probity and diſintereſtedneſs are equally conſpicuous, being called before the committee appointed by the houſe of commons, and deſired to ſtate in what manner the nabob, through the influence of Nundcomer, had endeavoured to corrupt his integrity, and that of his colleagues, ſaid, that when he was ſitting at the board, ſoon after his arrival, he was called out by a ſervant to ſpeak to Nundcomer, who was in a room contiguous to the apartment where the committee ſat; that he of himſelf, propoſed to the witneſs, to ſecure to the governor and ſelect committee 25 lacks of rupees, if they were inclined to liſten to his terms, without mentioning what thoſe terms were; but the witneſs ſaid, he conjectured the conditions he meant, were to ſupplant Mahomed Reza Kawn, the then prime miniſter. That he told Nundcomer he had better go and mind his buſineſs, and immediately left him, to attend his duty in the committee: that no body was preſent at this converſation, (conſequently that's nothing more than an *ipſe dixit*, as there were no witneſſes of this extraordinary inſtance of the deponent's uncommon contempt for money) than on his return to the committee, he mentioned Nundcomer's propoſal to lord Clive, who ſaid he was a raſcal, and had better go about his buſineſs. That he never after, directly or indirectly, knew any thing more about the matter. That Nundcomer's political character was very bad; but he had no doubt if he had been made prime miniſter, he would have had

had it in his power to have fulfilled the propoſal.

With reſpect to the concluſion of the war with Sujah Dowlah, the ſelect committee found that Sujah Dowlah, as his laſt reſource, had thrown himſelf on the generoſity of the Engliſh, and was at that time actually in camp, ready to receive ſuch terms of peace as they ſhould preſcribe; which appearing to the committee a favourable opportunity for eſtabliſhing the tranquility of the country on a permanent foundation, they reſolved that inſtructions ſhould be ſent to general Carnac, for ſettling the preliminary articles with Sujah Dowlah, which they ſent accordingly. And the ſelect committee taking into conſideration the youth, inexperience and incapacity of Nujum al Dowlah; the nabob of Bengal; the neceſſity of placing the adminiſtration in the hands of men, capable to ſupport the weight of government, and attached to the company's intereſt, and likewiſe the great danger that might ariſe to the ſtability of the then eſtabliſhment from ſuffering the whole powers for the abſolute management of the three provinces to veſt in a ſingle perſon, reſolved that Mahomed Reza Kawn be adviſed to relinquiſh the title of naib Subah, and alſo a part of the unbounded authority wherewith he was inveſted by the late treaty, as a meaſure not only agreeable to the nabob, but neceſſary to the ſafety of the preſent government, and the future tranquility of the country.

It appeared that the plan formed with a view of giving ſtability to the nabob's government, by dividing equally the adminiſtration between three miniſters, was in danger of being ſubverted through the

the ambition of Roy Dullub, and the exceſſive moderation or timidity of Mahomed Reza Kawn, and Juggut Seat.

The three miniſters ſigned the new regulations made by lord Clive and his committee, for the provinces Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and his lordſhip had received the ſunnud for the reverſion of his jaghire, in perpetuity to the company, conformable to the terms of his agreement before he left England: at the ſame time, ſunnuds for confirming the nabob Nudjul ul Dowlah, ſubah of the three provinces, were obtained from the king, who granted alſo ſunnuds for the yielding to the company in perpetuity, lands about Calcutta, and likewiſe for the Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong countries. The preſident of Fort St. George deſired at the ſame time, his lordſhip, to obtain ſunnuds for the four northern provinces or ſircars, which his lordſhip deeming a matter of great importance, made at the ſame time a point, that as the nabob intended purchaſing the king's favours at the price of five lacks of rupees, that all the ſunnuds required on the company's account, ſhould be afforded gratis.

The nabob, on his lordſhip's repreſentation of the great expence of ſuch an army as would be neceſſary to ſupport him in his government, to defray the large ſum due for reſtitution, and to the navy, together with the annual tribute which was of neceſſity to be paid to the king, conſented that all the revenues of the country ſhould be appropriated to thoſe purpoſes, 50 lacks of rupees a year for himſelf excepted, out of which ſums all his expences, of every denomination, including cavalry and

and ſeapoys, were to be defrayed. Mr. Sykes reſident at the durbar, was to ſettle this new arrangement.

The nabob having agreed to accept this annual ſtipend, made over the management of the ſubahdary, with every advantage ariſing from it to the company, out of the above ſtipend he was to allow 276,000 rupees a year, to the different branches of his family. Theſe payments were to be made by the three miniſters monthly; who were alſo to have the payment of all the nabob's troops, ſervants, &c.

Lord Clive and general Carnac had a conference with Sujah Dowlah, in which they offered him the terms for a treaty of peace. The negociations between them and the king at Illahabad had the deſired effect; and the terms were then ſettled between them on the grant of the dewannee to the company. Sujah Dowlah having expreſſed the greateſt reluctance at conſenting to the 8th article of the treaty, and having frankly confeſſed, that the encroachments of the Engliſh in Bengal, with regard to trade, and the great abuſes and exactions committed by the company's ſervants, and others countenanced by them, made him apprehenſive of the conſequences in his dominions, and had expreſſed ſo much uneaſineſs about the word 'factories,' that they agreed at laſt to leave it out of the treaty; and ſuggeſted even the propriety of withdrawing the factory at Banaras, as ſoon as the company's engagements with Bulwantſing ſhould expire.

Lord Clive having reſumed his ſeat at the ſelect committee, laid before them a pompous account of his ſeveral negotiations with the country powers du-

during his abſence from the preſidency, viz. the treaty of peace with Sujah Dowlah; the royal grant of the officer of the dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; the grant of his lordſhip's jaghire to the company in perpetuity, on the expiration of his lordſhip's terms therein; the confirmation in perpetuity of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and of the twenty-four pergunnas of Calcutta, which had been formerly aſſigned to the company by the nabob Meer Jaffier; the confirmation of the company's poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Madraſs, &c. the grant of the northern ſircars in perpetuity; alſo the articles of agreement with the king, for the due payment of the twenty-ſix lacks of rupees per annum to his majeſty, and the agreement with the nabob for the annual ſtipend, as above ſtated, to be paid his excellency for the ſupport of the nizamut.

By the treaty between his highneſs the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, vizier of the empire, his excellency Nudjim al Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, and the Engliſh company, they engaged to aſſiſt each other mutually, in caſe the dominions of the contracting parties ſhould at any time hereafter be attacked with a part, or the whole, of their forces.

His highneſs Sujah Dowlah ſolemnly engaged never to entertain or receive Coſſim Ally Kawn, the late ſubahdar of Bengal, Sommoro, the aſſaſſin of the Engliſh, nor any of the European deſerters within his dominions, nor to give the leaſt countenance, ſupport, or protection to them; and to deliver up to the Engliſh whatever Europeans may in future deſert from them into his country.

The

The king Shah Allum was to remain in full poſſeſſion of Korah, and ſuch part of the province of Illahabad as he then poſſeſſed, which were ceded to his majeſty as a royal demeſne, for the ſupport of his dignity and his expences.

His highneſs Sujah al Dowlah agreed to pay to the Engliſh company, in conſideration of the great expence incurred in carrying on the late war, fifteen lacks of rupees, the whole ſum to be diſcharged thirteen months from the date of the treaty.

Bulwantſing was to be continued in the zemindaries of Banaras, Ghazapore, and all the diſtricts he poſſeſſed at the time he came over to the nabob Jaffier Ally Kawn and the Engliſh, on condition of paying the ſame revenue as heretofore.

His highneſs the nabob of Oude had the country of Banaras reſtored to him, the fort of Chunar excepted, which was not to be evacuated untill the ſixth article of the treaty was fully complied with.

His highneſs allowed the Engliſh company to carry on a trade duty-free throughout all his dominions.

The Engliſh forces were to be withdrawn from the dominions of his highneſs, except ſuch as might be neceſſary for the garriſon of Chunar, or, for the defence or protection of the king in the city of Illahabad, if his majeſty ſhould require a force for that purpoſe; and the ſaid contracting powers generally and reciprocally guaranteed to each other all the ſtipulations of this treaty.

The king Shah Allum in his firmaun, by which the company obtained the grant of the dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, acknowledges the attachment and ſervices of the high and mighty, the noble[ſt]

nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, his faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of his royal favours; the Engliſh company. His majeſty grants them the dewannee of the ſaid provinces as a free gift, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, and with an exemption from the payment of the cuſtoms of the dewannee, which uſed to be paid to the court, on condition, that the ſaid company ſhould be ſecurity for the ſum of 26 lacks of rupees a year for his royal revenue, which ſum had been appointed from the nabob Nudjim ul Dowlah Bahadar, to be remitted regularly to the royal ſircar.

In his majeſty's firmaun for the confirmation of lord Clive's jagheer, the following Eaſtern titles are given by the mogul to his lordſhip: the high and mighty Zubdul ul Moolk, Nuſſeer ul Dowlah, lord Clive Bahadre; his majeſty confirmed in the province of Bengal (the paradiſe of the earth) his lordſhip's jagheer, for the term of ten years, to begin from the 16th of May, 1764, at the expiration of which it was to revert as a perpetual gift to the company.

His majeſty was alſo graciouſly pleaſed to confirm the company's poſſeſſions in the Carnatic, granted them by former kings in the neighbourhood of Madraſs, as well as the ſircar of Seccacool, from which the French company had been diſpoſſeſſed. And according to the agreement between the nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah and the company, his excellency was to receive the annual ſum of ſicca rupees, 5,386,131, for all his houſhold expences, ſervants, &c. and for the maintenance

of

of ſuch horſe, ſeapoys, peons, hercundaſſes, &c. as may be thought neceſſary, for his ſewawry, and the ſupport of his dignity only. By a ſtatement of the charges which were allowed for the collections of the Bahar province in 1765, they aomounted to rupees of ſorts, 2,153,934--2--10. By the ſtatement of the revenues to be received from the Bahar province, from the year 1765 to September 1766, they amounted to rupees, 5,568,250--7--5. This was the balance to be received this year.

Had his lordſhip by his boaſted reformation, purſued effectual meaſures to ſtop the effuſion of human blood, not only during his preſidency, but for the time to come, and laid the foundation of future tranquility to thoſe unhappy provinces, which had long been the ſcene of deſolation, to eaſe a company from the inſupportable weight of ruinous wars, which have ever ſince his impolitical regulations, raged in the peninſula of Indus; we ſhould be glad to have an opportunity to congratulate his lordſhip on his protection and ſagacity, for having compaſſed this proſperous end; but the company have found by experience, that the extraordinary acquiſition of revenue and influence, which he flattered himſelf to have obtained for his conſtituents, far from having conciliated the affections of the country powers, and ſecured their repoſe and happineſs, have been productive of new troubles and calamities. He took no meaſures whatſoever, likely to inſure a laſting peace, and all the commercial advantages, which the company had a right to expect from their valuable acquiſitions. In the company's letter to Bengal, dated the 19th February 1766, they obſerved, "that no ſuc-

ceſs in carrying on the war againſt Sujah Dowlah, to give his country to the king, could juſtify the meaſure. That as Sujah Dowlah had offered to withdraw his protection from Coſſim Ally, to enter in friendſhip with them, and to join his army in purſuing him; that opportunity ought to have been embraced for putting an end to the war. That all ſight of the company's intereſt was from that moment loſt, and that error had plunged them into many more." They animadverted upon the reply made to the offer of Sujah Dowlah, when they demanded he ſhould put Coſſim and his general to death; for if the law of hoſpitality forbad his delivering them up, ſurely it forbad his murdering them.

The diſpoſſeſſing Sujah Dowlah of his country, was breaking down, as they apprehended, the ſtrongeſt barrier they could have againſt the Afghans, Moratta's, and all the invaders of the empire, who were checked from penetrating into the Eaſtern provinces, by a power ſo reſpectable as his was throughout Indoſtan. The raiſing the king on his ruins, rendered this ſtill more ſtriking; becauſe all the northern powers were his natural enemies, being attached to the vizier Garodin Kawn, and though the title to the crown was conteſted, all parties ſeemed to unite in oppoſing the claim of him. They acknowledged kings, and it was to be feared they would come down upon him, before his ſtrength was confirmed; and thus they might have drawn the wars, that have ſo long diſtracted the northern countries to their own frontiers.

The king could not poſſibly have maintained himſelf without the utmoſt aſſiſtance of the company,

pany, and Sujah Dowlah was not ſo reduced as not to make head again; and the reſult might have been, to have a war to maintain ſix hundred miles from Calcutta, from the ſucceſs of which no poſſible advantage could have been derived, and one defect might have cauſed the total loſs of the province.

In the engagements with the king, the ſtipulation for the charges of the war was unſettled, and the whole expence was left on the Bengal government.

The appointing of independent dewans, was intruding on the powers of the regent, weakening his government, and tending to anarchy. Nor was any Engliſhman maſter enough of the forms of government, to undertake dividing their departments without introducing confuſion. Inſtead of forming an equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade, in concert with the nabob, according to the poſitive orders of the directors, which were to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and in all other articles produced and conſumed in the country, until ſome new method ſhould be adopted, their ſervants were guilty of a breach and violation of their orders, as a determined reſolution to ſacrifice the intereſt of the company and the peace of the country, to lucrative and ſelfiſh views.

The directors therefore pronounced, that every ſervant concerned in that trade, ſtood guilty of a breach of his covenants with them, and of their poſitive orders; and in conſequence of this reſolution they poſitively directed, that if that treaty was ſtill ſubſiſting, they ſhould make a ſolemn renunciation, by a ſolemn act to be entered upon their records,

cords, of all right under the ſaid treaty, or otherwiſe to trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, and that they ſhould tranſmit the renunciation of that part of the treaty in form, to the nabob in the Perſian language. Whatever government may be eſtabliſhed, or whatever unforeſeen circumſtances may ariſe, ſaid they, it is our reſolution to prohibit, and we do abſolutely forbid this inland trade, and all articles that are not for export and import, according to the ſpirit of the firmaun, which does not in the leaſt give any latitude whatſoever for carrying on ſuch an inland trade, and moreover they deemed every European concerned therein directly, or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants, and directed that he be forthwith ſent to England; and every native who ſhould avail himſelf of the company's protection to carry on this trade, without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the reſt of the nabob's ſubjects, was to forfeit that protection, and be baniſhed the ſettlement.

This trade had been the ſource of the war, and was incompatible with the peace of the country and the intereſt of the company.

Lord Clive, general Carnac and Mr. Sykes held the Purnea, according to the cuſtom of the country, and to theſe ideas which they pretended to entertain of the company's honour and intereſt. His excellency the nabob ſat in quality of Nazim, and lord Clive took his place as collector of the revenues for his majeſty. They thought it by no means adviſeable to deviate upon ſlight occaſions, from the eſtabliſhed forms and cuſtoms of the anniverſary, and therefore accepted for themſelves and for the other members of the council, the uſual preſents

ſents of a dreſs and elephant to each of them. This expence had formerly been charged to the government, and was now brought to the company's account; but as the amount was inconſiderable, they would not introduce any innovation that might tend to leſſen their dignity in the eyes of the people. The zemindars and other public officers conſented to pay to the amount of 5,200,000, as firſt fruits of the enſuing collections. The collection for the province of Bengal was this year 140 lacks. Mr. Campbell attended the noble preſident at Mootejil as mint-maſter, to explain and conduct a ſcheme propoſed by the ſelect committee, for eſtabliſhing a gold currency.

The directors, in the courſe of the war againſt Coſſim Ally Kawn, condemned the demand which had been made of the Giſſipore country, and the intention of conquering Sujah Dowlah's country for the king, requiring them to adopt ſome ſyſtem which might clearly mark out the barriers of the country government and theirs, and ordering the ſtricteſt enquiry to be made, whether any contributions had been exacted by the ſervants from the nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, on his ſucceſſion to the ſubahſhip.

The ſelect committee appointed by the houſe of commons having requeſted lord Clive to ſay, whether in his opinion, the grant of the dewannee was really a grant from a prince, who from his ſituation at that time, might be ſuppoſed capable of beſtowing ſuch conceſſions; or, whether it was an inſtrument executed as a piece of form, which his lordſhip thought it expedient to take from political motives: he referred to the public records of the com-

company, wherein the actual ſituation of the Mogul was deſcribed. He ſaid, the Mogul had at that time, ſome thouſands of men in arms; and in regard to lands and revenues to pay them, he believed he was in poſſeſſion of Illahabad, and that Sujah Dowlah and many princes of the country, made him large preſents. And being aſked, if the Mogul was at that time wholly dependent on the bounty of the Engliſh for protection, and even ſubſiſtence; he ſaid, he did not know that the Engliſh afforded him any ſubſiſtence at that time, nor till the articles of peace were ſettled with Sujah Dowlah, when the treaty was made, that he ſhould have particular poſſeſſions, and a certain annual ſtipend; that he certainly expected aſſiſtance from the Engliſh; but that if he had been diſpoſed to aſk for aſſiſtance from other powers, all Indoſtan was open to him, and particularly the Morattos: that the Mogul was not in the power of the Engliſh army at the time he granted the dewannee, but was his own maſter to do as he pleaſed, though his power in Bengal was totally annihilated. And being aſked, who put the Mogul in poſſeſſion of Illahabad? he ſaid, the company did; and he did not know of his having any other poſſeſſions at that time, and could not ſay whether, as the time was ſo ſhort, he had collected any of the revenues of the place, or made any arrangement of government, from the time he was put in poſſeſſion of it, to the time of granting the dewannee. And being aſked, if the mogul could have refuſed the grant of the dewannee, provided the Engliſh had inſiſted upon it, without riſquing his own view? he ſaid, it was certainly his intereſt

to grant it to the company, who might have taken it without his conſent; whether they would have done ſo, his lordſhip could not ſay: that there was ſtill ſo much reſpect for the great Mogul, that the independant nabobs applied to him for their confirmation, which confirmation is generally attended with conſiderable preſents from the princes ſo confirmed, who gave them to the perſon they apply to as Mogul: that at the time of granting the dewannee, the Mogul was at Illahabad; that his ſon was then reigning at Dehli, but always acknowledged that he acted under his father; but his lordſhip could not ſay, whether the father acknowledged the ſon to be his delegate: and being aſked, if he could particularize any nabob who made preſents on application, for confirmation to the Mogul at Illahabad? he ſaid, Nujum ul Dowlah did.

General Carnac being aſked, if the Mogul, when he granted the dewannee, was in ſuch a ſituation as to induce him to ſuppoſe it was a voluntary grant, and that he was in poſſeſſion of ſuch authority as could enable him to do it? ſaid, that Shah Allum was really, to all intents and purpoſes, the great Mogul, as much as any of his predeceſſors, in proof of which he enjoyed the two great honours annexed to their dignity, equally with his predeceſſors, viz. the cootba, or prayer for him as king, was univerſally read, and money coined in his name throughout the whole empire. That ſince the invaſion of Nadir, the diſtant provinces had been very deficient in the payment of the royal revenues; but that, to his certain knowledge, the complimentary nazars,

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or preſents, were ſent to Shah Allum by the neighbouring provinces; and as he believed the province of Dehli paid a yearly allowance to his ſon, who reſided there as his delegate: that there is no doubt, but the Engliſh might have forced the grant of the dewannee from the Mogul, if they thought it prudent or juſt ſo to do; but that ſuch a proceeding would have excited a general odium againſt the Engliſh throughout all Indoſtan, and that no ſuch force was impoſed on him: that he gave it voluntarily, and had offered it to the witneſs before: that his intereſt was concerned in the grant, for there was ſecured to him a much more conſiderable annuity than would probably have been paid him by any nabob; that the mogul had been in the hands of Sujah Dowlah, who made uſe of the royal name to collect the revenues from the adjacent provinces; but that, upon the defeat of Sujah Dowlah, he again ſurrendered himſelf to the Engliſh, and was by them inveſted with the provinces of Korah and Illahabad in full ſovereignty: that at the time of granting the dewannee, his mere dependance was upon the Engliſh; that a part of the company's troops were attending him at Illahabad, and that he never was without ſome of them while general Carnac remained in the country; for the mogul was jealous of Sujah Dowlah, and would have been very uneaſy without them.

It is manifeſt to all the world, that the mogul was ſo circumſtanced, that it was not in his power to refuſe the grant of the dewannee to the company; and general Carnac's evidence corroborates this opinion. The firſt poonah for Bengal,

gal, ſince the company became poſſeſſed of the dewannee, was held the 29th of April, 1766; and the company approved, that the forms eſtabliſhed by lord Clive at the ſolemnity of the poonah, ſhould in future be obſerved; and when the governor is not preſent, the reſident at the durbar repreſents the king's divan. Orders had been iſſued from the court of directors, to enquire particularly into the circumſtances of the death of Nujum ul Dowlah, a report prevailing, that he had been poiſoned. The committee appointed by the houſe of commons, deſired Mr. Sykes to relate what he knew upon that ſubject. He informed the committee, that to the beſt of his remembrance, when lord Clive, general Carnac, and ſeveral other gentlemen, were on their way to Patna, in 1765, his lordſhip proceeded from Muxadabad to a garden, called Seradbaugh: that the nabob being deſirous of waiting on his lordſhip at the garden, the witneſs accompanied him thither, where he ſtaid till ten or eleven o'clock at night: that Mahomed Reza Kawn was alſo preſent, and that his excellency complained then very much of being indiſpoſed, and Mr. Sykes adviſed him to return to the city, and not expoſe his perſon to the cold; he having, as it appeared to him, then an ague fit upon him; and that he went to his own houſe accordingly. Mr. Sykes hearing the next day, upon inquiry, that he was worſe, went to ſee him, and found that he was confined to his bed in a high fever: that he continued growing worſe three or four days, in which time the witneſs made him two or three viſits; that his excellency, the third or fourth day of his

illneſs, ſent word he ſhould be glad to ſee him; that he went accordingly, and on his arrival found him delirious and convulſed; that he remained very near him till he died, which was about two hours after his arrival, that he heard ſome rumours from the preſidency at Calcutta, that he had not fair play, and that he was brought to an untimely end; in conſequence of which, he applied to the deceaſed nabob's mother, to hear if ſhe entertained any idea of that nature; that ſhe aſſured him ſhe did not, and that if there had been any ſuſpicion in the nabob's mind, he would certainly have mentioned it: that Mr. Verelſt mentioned in a private letter, that there was ſuch a rumour in Calcutta, and that it was levelled at lord Clive, and the gentlemen in adminiſtration, by their enemies. Mr. Sykes ſaid, he believed the nabob drank ſome ice water, which, as he was ill before, was improper for his ſituation; and that he does not recollect there was any entertainment but what the nabob brought with him for his own family; that an irregular way of living, a groſs habit of body, and fondneſs of women, haſtened his death; that he had the venereal diſeaſe to a ſevere degree; and that, when he viſited him in his illneſs, he imputed his approaching death both to the fever and the venereal diſeaſe: that he had been ill three or four days when he viſited lord Clive at Seradbaugh, and had a fever on him at that time; that he took the ice water himſelf. And being aſked, if any individual was benefited by his death? he ſaid, he believed not; but the Eaſt-India company did, as they took this opportunity of reducing the allowance

ance that was made for the military eſtabliſhment of the former nabob, by reducing it from fifty-five lacks of rupees a year, to rupees 41, 81, 131.

General Carnac ſaid, that as he was going up the country, he went through Muxadabad, where the nabob was very ill; that he waited on his excellency, and found him in ſo violent a putrid fever, that he uſed every argument to prevent his going to take leave of lord Clive, who was then a few miles beyond the city at Seradbaugh; that, to his great ſurpriſe, the nabob came thither, and, in a few days after, heard of his death, at which, knowing the dangerous ſituation in which he left him, and being of a groſs habit of body, he was no ways ſurpriſed; and that he was a very intemperate young man. And being aſked, if he knew any inſtance of a nabob, or any other perſon of the country, being put to death by the Engliſh, except in battle? he ſaid, he did not; and concluded, by affirming the nabob had intimated to him his complaint was a putrid fever, called in Indoſtan the ave fever, which is attended with an itching at the noſe, and reputed incurable.

The court of directors having received intelligence of the enormous abuſes committed by the company's ſervants in the inland trade, in a general letter to their preſident and council in Bengal, ſhewed their diſapprobation of ſuch unfair proceedings in the following words:

"Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us, a ſcene of moſt cruel oppreſſion, which is indeed exhibited at one view in the nabob's complaints. The poor of this country, who uſed

uſed always to deal in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread by the trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the company, and the government revenues are greatly injured. We ſhall for the preſent, obſerve to you, that every one of our ſervants concerned in this trade has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a diſobedience to our orders. Amongſt the various extortionate practices, we find the moſt extraordinary one of forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price, which have been frequently practiſed. If the goods of any of our ſervants have been put off to the weavers, in part of payment of the company's inveſtment, they have been guilty of a flagrant breach of truſt.

It appeared, that the ſupport of the privileges uſurped by the company's ſervants, to the manifeſt detriment of the nabob, have engaged the company in unneceſſary wars; that many valuable lives were loſt in the defence of them. The privileges here meant principally relate to the unwarranted inland trade, in which the company's ſervants were generally concerned, greatly to the prejudice of their employers, by involving their affairs in diſtreſs and difficulties, and manifeſtly injurious to the country government. Thus the private intereſt of individuals has been preferred to the general good. By the new regulations of the 17th of October, 1764, the article of ſalt was a trade confined to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murſhadabad, on paying the nabob two and a half per cent. did by no means obviate the objections ariſing from the diſtreſs of the poor, and

and the injury to his revenues; for if they paid only two and a half per cent. and the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. it was as much a monopoly as ever.

Sujah Dowlah having experienced the aſcendency of the Engliſh arms, tried to recover by policy, what he had loſt by puſillanimity, and want of diſcipline in his army. It ſeems general Carnac ſought for his friendſhip, and perſuaded lord Clive that he might become a faithful ally, provided his lordſhip did not urge him to deſpair. Mr. Carnac was of opinion, that from the regard the nabob vizier was held in throughout the country, even in his preſent diſtreſs, would prove a much better ſecurity to our frontier, than any one we could put in theſe dominions in his room. Hearing that Sujah Dowlah was drawing near, he ſent captain Swinton with Rajah Shiltabroy to meet him. He arrived on the evening, May 20th, 1765, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and immediately croſſed it with his brother-in-law Solar Jung, and a very few followers, in order to wait upon the Engliſh general.

Mr. Carnac received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, at which the nabob expreſſed much ſatisfaction. He ſeemed however, a good deal dejected at his preſent condition, which bore very hard upon him. He muſt have found himſelf without reſource, or he would not have ſubmitted to ſuch a condeſcenſion, being the moſt conſiderable man in the empire, and of an uncommonly high ſpirit. It was a good policy in the company's ſervants, to behave with generoſity towards a perſon, who had all along bore a high reputation in Indoſtan.

Previous to this meeting, general Carnac had received from Sujah Dowlah the following letter, dated May 19th, 1765.

"It is known all over the world, that the illuſtrious chiefs of the Engliſh nation are conſtant and unchangeable in their friendſhip, which my heart is fully perſuaded of. The late diſturbances, were contrary to my inclinations; but it was ſo ordered by Providence. I now ſee things in a proper light, and have a ſtrong deſire to come to you; and I am perſuaded you will treat me in a manner beſitting your own honour. You have ſhewn great favours to others; when you become acquainted with me, you will ſee with your own eyes, and be thoroughly ſenſible of my attachment, from which I will never depart while I have life. I am this day, the 26th of the moon arrived at Bilgram."

With his own hand,

My Friend,

"I regard not wealth, nor government of country; your favour and friendſhip is all I deſire. Pleaſe God, I will be with you very ſoon, when you will do for me what you think beſt."

General Carnac, anſwer the 24th of May 1765, I have been favoured with your letter, declaring your intentions of coming to me, &c.

"The receipt of this letter gave me great pleaſure; you was before unacquainted with our cuſtoms, and diſpoſitions; thanks be to God, that you are now become ſenſible of the juſtice and upright intentions of the Engliſh. Now that you are pleaſed to come to me in a friendly manner, you

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may depend on the beſt reception in my power, ſuitable to our cuſtoms ; and I will not be deficient in forwarding whatever is reaſonable for your intereſt ; and when your excellency ſhall ſhew a real attachment to the Engliſh, their friendſhip towards you in return will be manifeſt to the whole world : you may with perfect confidence come here, as to your own houſe, and to theſe that wiſh your welfare, &c."

Indeed every appearance of inſult and violence to a perſon of Sujah Dowlah's character was to be carefully avoided, in the terms they were to demand. Lord Clive who did ſet out for the army, ſettled the preliminary articles, and adjuſted a plan of pacification with the vizier. His lordſhip's end was effectually anſwered by a perſonal interview with Sujah Dowlah, as it did lead him to a direct knowledge of his real ſentiments in the courſe of their conferences. His lordſhip flattered himſelf to have ſtipulated ſuch conditions with Sujah Dowlah, to have formed ſuch connections with the country powers, and purſued ſuch means, as were thought neceſſary to the company's intereſt, and the obtaining a ſafe and laſting peace ; but the event has ſhewn ſince, that the influence he deſigned to maintain by force of arms, was deſtructive of that commercial ſpirit, which it was his lordſhip's duty to promote ; was ruinous to the company, and oppreſſive to the country. He ſhould have exerted his utmoſt endeavours to conciliate the affections of the country powers, to remove the jealouſy they had naturally conceived of our ambition, and convince them that we aimed not at conqueſt and dominion,

minion, but ſecurity in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to the company and the natives.

The French and Engliſh companies having agreed to ſettle amicably all differences. Mr. Law, the French commiſſary, arrived on the coaſt of Coromandel, and having received the reſtitutions there to be made to his nation, he proceeded to Bengal, and on the 15th of June was put in poſſeſſion of Chandernagore by Mr. George Vanſittart, appointed on this occaſion the commiſſary for his Britannic majeſty. He appointed deputies for receiving the ſubordinate ſettlements at Sydabad, Dacca, Jugdea, and Balaſore, and the two firſt places were accordingly reſtored. With reſpect to the Balaſore factory, ſome objections occurred upon its not being in the condition required by the terms of the treaty, which prevented its being made over immediately: Mr. Law, however, gave his orders for its being received in its preſent ſtate, leaving thoſe circumſtances to be adjuſted between the two companies. Upon further accounts, from the reſpective commiſſaries, he did further ſet forth the title of the French company to two ſpots of ground at Singhia and Chupnah, near Patna, which in the like manner reſtored upon his appointment of a perſon to receive them. Copies of the acts of reſtitution of Chandernagore were ſent to the directors of the Engliſh company.

Mr. Law made to the preſident and council of Calcutta, a repreſentation, touching the inconveniences and difficulties the French company and their agents would be expoſed to from our direct adherence to the terms of the treaty, which re-

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ſtrict them from erecting fortifications, or entertaining any troops in theſe provinces, accompanied by the copy of an anſwer on the ſubject, the original whereof he had before communicated to lord Clive, which the miniſter, for the India affairs had, on his departure from France received from the ſecretary of ſtate; he therefore expreſſed his hope, that the Engliſh company would be induced to allow the French a ſmall number of armed Europeans and ſeapoys, with a few pieces of cannon, and a proper lodgment to which they might retire in caſe of any ſurpriſe from the country people, aſſuring us particularly, that he meant not to elude in the leaſt by this application, the effect of the conditions of the treaty.

The preſident and council of Calcutta having properly conſidered the ſame, agreed with a reſerve to the company, of the right of withdrawing the terms whenever they might have reaſon to apprehend an improper uſe of them, to permit one officer and twenty European infantry, with one hundred ſeapoys to be entertained at Chandernagore, and fifty of the latter at each of the ſubordinates; alſo to allow them a wall at Chandernagore, ſuch as they formerly had at Coſſimbuzar, and twenty pieces of cannon, not of a heavier weight than ſix pounders, for the purpoſe of ſalutes on the uſual occaſions; which would at the ſame time fully anſwer the end of impoſing a proper reſpect on the country people: they further agreed, to allow the French five artillery men for working theſe guns; and having communicated their determination to Mr. Law, they received his thanks in the name of the nation for the ſame; and a further aſſurance that no

improper uſe would be made of any indulgence the Engliſh company might grant them.

He made alſo an application, for a ſupply of nine thouſand maunds of ſalt-petre, on the ſame terms as the Dutch, to aſſiſt in compleating their cargoes from hence and their other ſettlements; and having found by advices from Patna, that the Engliſh company's inveſtment that ſeaſon would enable them without any inconvenience to comply therewith, they agreed to ſpare the French accordingly the quantity required; remarking, however, to Mr. Law, at the ſame time, that no right to any part of this branch of commerce was from hence to be eſtabliſhed, though they ſhould with equal readineſs aſſiſt the French company, when it could be done with the ſame convenience.

Theſe matters being ſettled with the French, immediately upon the arrival of lord Clive, the council proceeded with his lordſhip to fix the appointments of the field officers, agreeable to the eſtabliſhment in the inſtructions of the directors, June 1, 1764; and general Carnac and colonel Smith were in conſequence ſtationed to the firſt and ſecond battalions. The command of the third being vacant by the death of major Knox, ſhould have in courſe devolved to Sir Robert Fletcher; but lord Clive informing the board, that although Sir Robert Barker was only mentioned in the letter, as commandant of the artillery, he knew from what had paſſed between him and ſome of the gentlemen of the direction, expecting the appointments, that it was their intention he ſhould have the choice of ſucceeding to one of the battalions

lions, in caſe of a vacancy; and being at this time deſirous of having the third, it was agreed to appoint him thereto accordingly.

Sir Robert Fletcher became in conſequence, lieutenant-colonel of the firſt battalion; and it was alſo agreed to promote major Peach to the ſecond, till the point of priority in rank between him and major Champion was determined by the anſwer of the directors to the applications made to them, reſpecting that gentleman and Sir Robert Fletcher.

Proceeding then to the third appointment of lieutenant colonel, lord Clive further informed the board, that on his arrival at the cape, he found there, on his paſſage to Europe, major Charles Chapman, of his majeſty's ſeventy-ninth regiment, and that Meſſrs. Sumner and Sykes with colonel's Smith and Barker repreſented to him, that as the number of field officers was not complete, according to the eſtabliſhment, and opportunity offered in their opinion, of doing the company great ſervice, by introducing that gentleman as one, having on account of his particular merit been ſolicited by the preſident and council to remain at Fort St. George, in the command of their troops under general Lawrence, which although he had declined, he was willing to come to Bengal with his lordſhip, provided he had rank next to major Peach. That he joined in ſentiment with thoſe gentlemen, and brought the major here accordingly, under ſuch a promiſe; and his lordſhip therefore propoſed he ſhould have this appointment, not doubting in the leaſt the directors confirmation thereof.

Some

Some debate paſſed at the board on this occaſion, upon which his lordſhip informed them, that in virtue of the power veſted in him, the council ſhould certainly grant the commiſſion in queſtion, but would wiſh to have their concurrence, and deſired the ſentiments of the ſeveral members might be collected, and major Chapman was appointed the third lieutenant-colonel.

Majors Champion and Stibbert, and captain Hugh Grant were afterwards appointed the majors of the three battalions; and in conſideration of the long and faithful ſervices of captain Chriſtian Fiſher, and as the former objection to promoting him was now removed by the appointment of ſo many officers of ſuperior rank, a major's brevet was alſo granted to him.

Before colonel Smith proceeded to join the army, the council received a repreſentation from him, touching his appointments at the preſidency of Calcutta; ſetting forth, that he was poſitively aſſured he was to ſucceed to all the ſame, both civil and military, which general Carnac held then in the ſervice; and expreſſing therefore his ſurpriſe at finding himſelf on his arrival, precluded from the former, in conſequence of the inſtructions of the directors, which expreſsly ſay, "That after the death and departure of the general, no officer ſhall have a conſtant ſeat at the board without the leave of the directors, but only when military affairs are under conſideration; the council offered it as their opinion, that the commanding officers of the troops, ſhould upon all occaſions have a ſeat at the board.

Lord

Lord Clive entered a repreſentation and complaint againſt Mr. Burdett, for having in his office of zemindar confined and detained, after application for his releaſe, an overſeer of boats, employed by his lordſhip on the occaſion of an intended expedition up the country, to take upon him the command of the army, and ſettle affairs with the powers in theſe parts: Mr. Burdett not being preſent at this conſultation; an order was immediately iſſued to him for the man's enlargement: and his anſwer to the ſame having been received, aſſigning the reaſons for his proceedings, which did not appear ſufficient, and conceived in terms deemed diſreſpectful to the board, they determined that he ſhould make a proper acknowledgment both to lord Clive and themſelves. Mr. Burdett complied afterwards with the determination; and his lordſhip having deſired to be acquainted therewith, it was accordingly communicated to him; but Mr. Burdett entered a minute on the ſtyle of his letter, and this being likewiſe tranſmitted to his lordſhip, he confirmed the opinion he had before given of that gentleman's conduct, in terms which determined Mr. Burdett, having before intimated his intention of returning this ſeaſon into Europe, to ſit no longer at the board; and he alſo reſigned the company's ſervice accordingly.

Lord Clive delivered ſince a minute, ſetting forth, "That he could not accuſe himſelf of having given any cauſe for the reſentment expreſſed by Mr. Burdett, and his opinion concerning his repreſentation; referring to a letter from Rajah Doolabram to Mr. Sumner, when preſident, in reſpect to a note of hand for a ſum of money, which he

he repreſented he had given to Mr. Burdett, upon the nabob's acceſſion to the government, under the promiſe of his endeavours to procure him a ſhare in the adminiſtration, which he had not fulfilled, and therefore ſoliciting Mr. Sumner's aſſiſtance for the recovery thereof,

The ſelect committee ordered Mr. Sykes to proceed to Murſhadabad on affairs of importance, and to ſet out accordingly without loſs of time. Meſſrs. Leyceſter and Gray diſſented upon the occaſion, not being able to judge of the object of Mr. Sykes's commiſſion, or the neceſſity of his appointment; and as Mr. Middleton, a member of the board, was already ſtationed reſident at the durbar, to tranſact whatever points of buſineſs might occur with the country government had acted in that capacity to the entire ſatisfaction of the council, and could not be ſuperſeded without a reflection on his ability to conduct ſuch buſineſs. The proceedings were afterwards laid before the board, when thoſe gentlemen confirmed their diſſent, eſteeming Mr. Middleton ſtill the proper perſon to tranſact the buſineſs intruſted to Mr. Sykes; and upon Mr. Middleton receiving information from the ſelect committee of this appointment, he addreſſed the board, ſetting forth, how much it muſt leſſen the weight and influence which it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould maintain in his ſtation, and that he could not, with any credit to himſelf, remain in it longer; more eſpecially as lord Clive told him, on his way, that it was intended to remove him ſhortly, and place Mr. Sykes in his room; and ſoliciting, in conſequence, the chief-ſhip of Patna, which became

vacant

vacant a few days before, by the ſudden death of Mr. Billers; to this he was accordingly appointed, and ordered to proceed immediately, delivering over to the chief at Coſſimbuzar ſuch buſineſs as he had been intruſted with from the board. Mr. Sumner being the only member of the committee then preſent, minuted at the ſame time, a declaration on their part, that no reflection whatſoever on Mr. Middleton, nor derogation from his neceſſary weight and influence as public reſident, was intended by them, ſetting forth the impropriety of charging any other than a member of the committee with the management of buſineſs, which had not been diſcloſed to the council, as an argument for his ſatisfaction. Mr. Sykes having proceeded conformably to his deputation, returned to the preſidency with lord Clive; and Mr. Verelſt having been called to Calcutta to take his ſeat in the committee, reſigned the chiefſhip of Chittagong factory, in which Mr. Playdell ſucceeded him; and, upon the reſignation of Mr. Johnſtone, he was appointed by the committee to the charge of ſupervifor of the Burdwan revenues. Meſſrs. Charlton and French were, in conſequence of the majority of the board, ordered from Decca to take their ſeats in the council, and Mr. Sumner diſſented thereto, in his own and the name of the committee a reviſal of the meaſure.

Lord Clive, during his abſence at Banaras, wrote a letter to the committee, repreſenting his opinion of the company's title to a moiety of the money obtained there by the army, in conſequence of the deed of gift from the king to the company.

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of ſuch proportion of all plunder, &c. which ſhould be taken in India by his forces on land, and their orders, putting their own military on the ſame footing, and reſerving to them the other moiety. He, at the ſame time pointed out, as an argument, the ſtipulation in favour of the company, of one half of what ſhould be taken at Manilla, eſteeming it a ſimilar caſe with the one in queſtion.

It having appeared, on reference to the regiſters of council before his lordſhip's arrival, that the board conſidered the ſaid money as a voluntary gift from the merchants, rather than a ranſom for the town obtained by military force; and that, for the reaſons aſſigned, they thought proper to conſent to the army's receiving it, without reſerving any claim to the company; the other members did not think, this being the caſe, that a demand on them for a ſhare of the money could now with any propriety be made.

Lord Clive, amongſt his military regulations, propoſed for the better regulating the pay of the army in future, and the prevention of any abuſes, that there ſhould be ſeparate pay-maſters, with deputies, and a commiſſary, to each brigade; and the board having agreed with him in the propriety of theſe appointments, the pay-maſters were accordingly nominated.

Commodore Tinker having received from the late nabob, Meer Jaffier, a grant of 1,250,000 rupees, as a donation to himſelf and the ſquadron under his command, for their ſervices in the war againſt Meer Coſſim, he preſented to the board, on his departure, a tranſlation of the ſame, and requeſted their aſſiſtance in procuring regular payments

ments conformably to the terms; to which the board replied, expreſſing their ſatisfaction at the nabob's having thought proper to conſider the ſervices of the ſquadron, and aſſuring Mr. Tucker, that ſo far as it might appear to them in his power conſiſtently with the performance of the engagement of this treaty, the commodore might depend on their compliance with his application. Mr. Tucker, and other officers agents, having addreſſed the board for payment, and incloſed the tranſlation of a letter from the preſent nabob, with a confirmation of his father's grant, ſolicited their interpoſition for procuring them the amount due; repreſenting, with a view of adding weight to their application, that many officers and men of the ſquadron having contracted debts during their abode in Calcutta, their drafts on the donation had, upon the ſtrength of the board's promiſe, been accepted in diſcharge thereof, by merchants of the place, whoſe private fortune had already ſuffered, and muſt ſtill ſuffer more by any farther delay of payment.

The repreſentation having been conſidered and debated on, the majority of the board were of opinion; that in conſequence of our acquiſition of the dewannees of thoſe provinces, and the agreement thereupon made with the nabob, by which, after the ſtipulations for the king and his excellency, the remaining part of the revenues devolves to the company, they could not of themſelves determine upon the ſubject, but referred it to the deciſion of the directors.

Mr. Leyceſter, agreeably to his intimation at the laſt meeting of the board, delivered in the

following minute on the ſtyle of the nabob's letter to the ſelect committee, entered on their proceedings then peruſed.

" The nabob's addreſs to the ſelect committee is a moſt extraordinary production, whether the matter or ſtyle of it is taken into conſideration. It is an appeal to theſe gentlemen againſt the conduct of a committee of the board, from whom, I ſuppoſe, he would have had redreſs, had he been able to ſupport a complaint of this nature; but ſo far from that, I believe, he has repeatedly expreſſed his content and ſatisfaction in many letters to the governor. Whether I conſider myſelf as a member of this board, or as a gentleman, I can by no means allow myſelf to be treated with ſuch unbecoming language; nor will the board themſelves, I preſume, deem it decent to have me termed the vacqueel of Mahomed Reza Kawn, while I have been acting by commiſſion from the board; and I call you, gentlemen, to do me juſtice, and muſt requeſt, before I even attempt a refutation of the nabob's aſſertions, that you ſhall inſiſt on apologies being made for the inſult offered this board through me; your ſilence on ſuch an occaſion muſt be interpreted into an approbation."

(Signed) Ralph Leyceſter.

The board were in conſequence unanimouſly of opinion, that a letter ſhould be wrote to the nabob by the preſident, expreſſing, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the impropriety of his uſing ſuch a ſtyle in any repreſentation he might have occaſion to make, touching the conduct of the members of the board,

board, which the president informed them he should do accordingly.

And Mr. Leycester thereupon entered the following further minutes in vindication of his conduct, on the subjects of the nabob's complaints.

"The honourable motives on which I acted at Muxadabad, leave not a wish to conceal any part of my transactions: I have, however, one objection to entering on my defence; I think it merits consideration, how far it appears decent and proper to allow the conduct of a committee, and of course the representatives of the whole board, to be thus arraigned for transactions which have not at the time been complained of. As my commission terminated a month and a half before the authority of that board expired, which made my appointment; I think an appeal should only have been made to these gentlemen, for the conformity of my conduct to views which the present board cannot be such ample judges of; and that the nabob and I may not go on in endless contradiction of each other, I beg the matter may be put on some certain issue; and that if the nabob's assertions appear false, the board will determine what measures to pursue, in order to prevent in future such unwarrantable attacks, which every gentleman must otherwise be for ever exposed to, who shall be prosecuting any views that may be injurious to a first minister or favourite of the nabob. I was aware, that if ever Nundcomer was able to influence the nabob, he would urge every thing which malice and villainy could invent, out of enmity to me for the share I had in his removal.

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I am ſorry to ſee the nabob begin his government with a proceeding, that muſt create ſo much uneaſineſs and jealouſy between him and ſome members of the council, and which muſt in a manner deſtroy all confidence and cordiality between them; but, as the particular diſpleaſure expreſſed againſt me by the nabob, has ſolely been incurred by a ſteady purſuit of the company's welfare, it ſhall not give me much pain; for I am ſenſible their intereſt would have been ſacrificed, had we attended to each idle and evaſive argument, with which Nundcomer took care from time to time to ſupply him; but, to reply more particularly to the nabob's charge.

Letters of condolance had been wrote from the governor on his father's death; and the firſt half hour of our firſt interview, was employed in compliments of one kind or other. We then acquainted the nabob, we had ſome private buſineſs with him, and requeſted he would order his attendants to retire; and that his brother being young, might do the ſame, which he complied with without reluctance. Mahomed Reza Kawn had already been ordered down from Decca by the board; but it might appear as much as poſſible the nabob's own act, he was alſo deſired to ſend a like order. He, or rather Nundcomer, were guilty of a ſhameful impoſition on our reſident at the durbar, on whoſe application the nabob told him, orders to that effect ſhould be ſent, but tranſmitted inſtructions directly contrary. This was an apparent breach of confidence. Mahomed Reza Kawn had however ſet out, and the nabob was prevailed on by us to ſend his pervannah for that purpoſe.

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When he had ſubſcribed to the treaty, he was aſked whom he choſe to be ſeated on the miſnud, when Mahomed Reza Kawn ſhould arrive? he was willing, I believe, to defer his inſtallation; in daily hopes of receiving ſunnuds from the king, from which authority he rather wiſhed to hold his government. The morning before we went to the Kellah, we acquainted the nabob, that as we had particular buſineſs to tranſact with him, it would be adviſeable that he ſhould receive us in a private apartment, and not in the dewan connah; and that no miſtake ſhould happen in this meſſage, it was committed to writing; nor did I ever ſee the nabob, except the day he was ſeated on the miſnud, in any other apartment than that on which he firſt received us. It is abſolutely falſe, that he was told not to ſit in his dewan connah, till Mahomed Reza Kawn's arrival: that he muſt live in the place he was; or, that he muſt put a ſtop to all buſineſs. Mahomed Reza Kawn I think, arrived the third day after our firſt viſit.

We found that people about the nabob had endeavoured to inſpire him with a ſuſpicion of our deſigning to ſeat Reza Cawn on the miſnud; but when we pointed out to him the improbability of ſuch intent, and how needleſs our preſent declarations in his favour were, had we any ſuch view; he ſeemed ſatisfied, and called on us to pledge our honour to the performance of the treaty, which he read over two or three times. He evaded coming to any point, wanted to conſult Nundcomar, and to have him bring the paper of advice of his deceaſed father. We knew this was only to gain time, and that a delay would only increaſe

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every difficulty we had to contend with. We replied, we came not to treat with Nundcomar, but with him, that the council and the Engliſh were heartily inclined to his intereſt; and that he ſhould only conſider them as his friends and protectors; probably he was told, it was his beſt part to act conformably to the council's ſentiments, fully expreſſed in the treaty. After diſcuſſing over, every article of the treaty, three or four times, and taking pains to make him underſtand it, we preſſed his acceptance and ſeemingly ſatisfied his principal objection; ſtill he deſired to have Nundcomar's opinion; but when we ſaw he had been tutored to do nothing without his concurrence, and that he was ſure to encourage the nabob to the warmeſt oppoſition; we pointed out to him, the neceſſity of his complying with the reſolutions of the board, and that we could not acknowledge him as ſubah, till he had promiſed his aſſent: this was not, I believe, told him in the terms he had uſed, though it was my firm opinion, and I believe it was the board's, that he ought never to be acknowledged on any terms, that ſhould ſtill leave the ſole power in the hands of Nundcomar, whoſe character was then, at leaſt, a very doubtful one. He ſpoke at that time, very handſomely of Mahommed Reza Kawn, and only mentioned, what he ſaid about the Decca collections; he at laſt promiſed his compliance, and Nundcomar and others were called in, and upon their beginning to ſtart objections, they were told; we were not come to receive their opinion, but to negotiate with the nabob. It was propoſed, that the treaty with his father ſhould be ſent for; when it was firſt called for, we were told a Faquir had

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the treaty, who was ſitting upon Meer Jaffier's tomb, ſome miles from the Kellah; but upon finding ſuch evaſions would not avail, it was preſently produced.

He then accuſed Mahommed Reza Kawn, to have taken twenty lacks out of his treaſury, and diſtributed it without his knowledge, for ſecuring his nabobſhip. This is moſt ſhameful inſinuation, and as it appears indirectly levelled at thoſe who ſupported this meaſure, I muſt take notice of it, though the chief object is to injure Mahommed Reza Kawn. The opinion I entertain of his underſtanding and integrity, inclines me to believe this a groundleſs aſſertion; if he has done ſo, I will allow I have miſtaken his character, and am ready to declare on oath, I have never received a ſingle rupee from Mahommed Reza Kawn. The other reflections thrown out on Mahommed Reza Kawn, he will, I hope, be able to clear up to the board's ſatisfaction; and if we conſider, the ſtruggle the nabob has made, to have that villain Nundcomer ſtill about him, no man will be ſurpriſed at the attack on Mahommed Reza Kawn, or thoſe who promoted him; and when all circumſtances are conſidered, I can only be amazed to find ſuch a ſeeming degree of credit given to the nabob's aſſertions, which I think muſt appear to every unprejudiced perſon, the performance of Nundcomer, who has ſuch an influence over the nabob, as to make him believe all thoſe enemies to himſelf, who have been concerned in his removal: though four gentlemen were appointed on the deputation, and concurred in every meaſure, Mr. Johnſton and I only are named; Mr. Johnſton we are told was

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ſuppoſed to be previouſly at enmity with Nundcomer; and I am particularly attacked, by reaſon I ſuppoſe, of my repeated refuſal of large offers made me by Nundcomer, for ſupport. I am fully perſuaded, that he is the ſole author of this addreſs from the nabob; and am, I confeſs, very much provoked, to think, that villain ſhall entertain a momentary hope of gratifying his reſentment, by urging the nabob to this attack; for from himſelf, I am poſitive it could not have proceeded. All the difficulties, and all the uneaſineſs we had in executing our commiſſion at the city, proceeded from Nundcomer and his creatures, as we repeatedly informed the board. The nabob of himſelf made but weak objections, and ſuch ſeemed removed by the arguments we uſed, till he was again tutored by Nundcomer, when he would flatly contradict himſelf.

He complained to the board very bitterly of our proceedings about Nundcomer, when we were ordered to ſend him down, and alledged that we obliged him to ſign ſuch a paper as we thought proper. This was Nundcomer's laſt ſtruggle, at leaſt, it would have been the laſt, had not he and the nabob been taught to expect an entire change upon the arrival of Lord Clive and the committee. As the nabob had confidence enough to exclaim againſt us to the board in ſuch terms, Why failed him to add what he now urges? The paper, he ſays, was forced from him, regarded only Nundcomer. I am firmly perſuaded, that the ſame influence, which has on ſeveral occaſions led the nabob into the moſt palpable contradictions, has now urged him to theſe ſhameful inſinuations, in hopes

hopes of aſſiſting Nundcomer by this attack, on thoſe who promoted his removal. No confidence can be placed in his word and promiſe, ſo long as Nundcomer or his creatures have acceſs to him; and I am ſatisfied, if they were removed, he would ſoon reflect on the impropriety of his preſent conduct, and repent of it.

I admit the nabob was at firſt much averſe to the appointments the board had made; from the inſinuations of Nundcomer, that we really meant to place Mahomed Reza Kawn on the miſnud; when he was convinced of our real deſign, and had engaged us to pledge our honours to the performance of the treaty; he appeared more ſatisfied, and probably would have remained ſo, had he not been encouraged to expect the releaſe and re-inſtatement of Nundcomer on lord Clive's arrival. And if we were neceſſitated to urge ſome points in terms we would wiſh to have avoided, we were drove to it by the oppoſition we met with from Nundcomer and his adherents. It was our deſire and our aim to treat the nabob with a becoming reſpect; but the ſtruggles of theſe people to thwart every meaſure, the board had recommended, obliged us now and then to enforce them in more poſitive terms, and to explain to them the miſchiefs they would unavoidably draw upon themſelves by ſuch a procedure, and how evidently they were ſacrificing the nabob's welfare to their private views. I always eſteemed it a conteſt with the nabob's officers, not with him; the executing the ſervice we were ſent on, engaged us in many diſagreeable altercations, and it could not be accompliſhed without reſolution and perſeverance.

The company acquired by this treaty, an additional income confirmed to them of ſixty lacks of rupees, per annum; had the whole military force of the province in their own hands, and obtained the power of interfering more or leſs, in the affairs of government, and nominations of the nabob's officers, as circumſtances might render neceſſary for their welfare and ſucceſs: when the government became recent, it could only be ſecured to Nazem O Dowlah, by the power of the company's force, and they thought they had a right to preſcribe ſuch conditions for his ſupport, as ſeemed moſt conducive to their welfare. When the company's intereſt were altogether ſecured, and the orders of the board fully executed, it is very true, that I accepted a preſent from the nabob; I never made a ſecret of it, as the cuſtom of Indoſtan on ſuch occaſions, is well known to every body, ſanctifies the acceptance; and where preſents have not been eſteemed the price of improper ſervices, I never heard a reflection caſt on thoſe who did receive them. When I had done my duty to the company, I thought myſelf at liberty to accept a preſent from the nabob, which I am confident, can in no ſhape prove injurious to the company; whilſt the ſettlement of the government was under conſideration; I declined every overture that was made, which is well known to the company's ſervants at Calcutta; and though Mr. Spencer accepted afterwards, an offer of two lacks from the nabob, he had previouſly refuſed one of eleven lacks. It is certain, that Meſſieurs Leyceſter and Spencer might have made immenſe fortunes, had they not

declined the offers made them by the nabob and his miniſter.

It has been always my opinion, ſaid Mr. Leyceſter, before the board of Calcutta, that in a country not under the moſt abſolute tyranny, every man's property was at his own diſpoſal, and every one is at liberty to accept what is offered, without fear or compulſion, the ſame not being a conſideration for improper ſervices: the adopting oppoſite maxims, is contrary to the known practice of our predeceſſors in the council; and though abſolute orders, with a penalty annexed, may make the acceptance of preſents improper and inconvenient, yet they cannot alter the rectitude of the act itſelf; who can condemn a man, who having an opportunity of obtaining a comfortable maintenance for no diſhonourable ſacrifice, ſhould miſs it.

Since the conteſts which prevailed afterwards among the proprietors at home, the orders from the court of directors have been ſo fluctuating, that it has really been difficult to collect the ſentiments that were to guide the conduct of the company's ſervants abroad. Mr. Gray never gave up a ſingle advantage, he could have acquired for the company, to gratify his private intereſt. He was a member of that board, who procured an additional yearly revenue of eighty lacks of rupees, to the poſſeſſions they held before; making with theſe in all, at leaſt one million eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, per annum. Had the gentlemen of council been diſpoſed to ſpare the nabob in his aſſignment, he would have given them much larger ſums, and no complaints would have been made on this ſubject.

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The foreign marine trade was once a fund of advantage to the company's ſervants, but that was before Serajah Dowlah's war, when commerce flouriſhed both in Bengal and in the marts abroad; ſince that time, the internal commotions, in which theſe countries have been involved, have rendered that branch ſo very precarious, that voyages have proved moſt times unſucceſsful for ſeveral years paſt. There has been almoſt a conſtant ſeries of warfare in Bengal; ſeveral worthy ſervants of the company have fallen unfortunate victims of Mooriſh barbarity, in the two revolutions cauſed by avarice and policy.

Lord Clive's ſecret committee endeavoured to impute to their predeceſſors malverſations, of which they were judges and complainants. To ſupport theſe charges, Mooteram was arreſted at Calcutta by a party of ſeapoys, confined cloſe priſoner in his houſe under a ſerjeant's guard, with all the terrors attending a man already convicted and condemned of capital offences: ignorant as he was of the Engliſh laws and undoubted rights, the ſelect committee obliged him to ſwear that he would anſwer all the queſtions put to him to betray the ſecrets of his maſter, or make againſt himſelf.

Had Mooteram been accuſed of any capital crime, or of having done any thing contrary to law, if liable to be tried by our laws and by Engliſhmen, acting with a lawful authority as his judges, he ought to have had his indictment in a public manner, and been allowed counſel, a juſtice never denied to any under the protection of the Engliſh government. Had the nabob ſubmitted him to the committee as his judges, a fair trial was what

what he had a right to expect, and that he ſhould not have been thus by force, impriſonment, and fear of his life and honour, to give evidence that might make againſt himſelf, and in order to be brought as a proof againſt any ſubject of Britain, enjoying the rights and protection of this parent ſtate. When ſuch undue influence, unlawful means and violence are uſed to obtain an evidence, no credit is to be given to anſwers on oath to all grievances that ſhould be put to a perſon while under reſtraint, impriſonment, and fear. The honour and credit of the council were trampled upon, by the noble preſident and his committee, inſomuch, that no one man of diſtinction belonging to the country government, dared receive or pay viſits to and from the members of the council, from a notion that had been propagated, that they had no authority, and were made abſolutely dependents on the committee, that uſurped an authority they had no right to; then force and violence took the place of the law and liberty, military execution and impriſonment over-awed and extorted evidences, before a tribunal and judges, whoſe powers the noble preſident declared was what their own will thought fit to aſſign. One ſhould think from the proceedings of his lordſhip and his committee, that they were piqued to find the intereſt of the company ſo well ſecured before their arrival; the gentlemen who had felt the defects of the former treaty, were full as well qualified to remedy them in the new one, as the pretended reformers. His lordſhip expreſſed much chagrin that the affair of his jaghire had been ſettled according to his agreement with the company, without

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out his interpoſition, though a better opportunity could not have occurred to get it done. Mr. Spencer, whoſe merit and ſervices the company cannot erafe from their records, was revered by that party which in England oppoſed lord Clive, and the gentlemen of his committee; any attack upon him or his meaſures was an attack upon the party who eſpouſed the man and his ſyſtem; this accounts for the uncommon neglect and diſregard ſhewn to Mr. Spencer by lord Clive, though he joined with the board in thanks to the ſame gentleman for the zeal he had ſhewn for the company's welfare. Though the gentlemen of lord Clive's committee, from their long abſence from India, could not poſſibly be at firſt proper judges of the company's affairs and intereſts; they never on any occaſion conſulted with, or aſked the ſentiments of the council, the ſentiments of a former adminiſtration on divers important ſubjects, merited more conſideration and reſpect; and ſuch a deference would have ſaved them the reproach of many capital errors and inconſiſtencies. With regard to preſents in general, they had the approved example of the preſident lord Clive himſelf, for their guide, who ſtipulated a princely fortune, for Meer Jaffier's elevation to the miſnud; and though he profeſſed the company's welfare was his only motive for ſtaying in India, yet he acknowledged he made uſe of the influence of Juggut Seat to apply for a jaghire, which though amounting to 30,000l. per annum, was not thought improper by him to accept of, even in the circumſtances of diſtreſs he then repreſents the old nabob to have been in, his life twice ſaved from his troops mutinying for their arrears, only by the awe

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of our arms, and large balances then due to the company, which were not paid till after the revolution, after 1769. If the books of the nabob's treaſury, from the time that Meer Jaffier obtained the government, down to this day, had been referred to as a proof of the company's ſervants rapaciouſneſs, ſuch a retroſpect and ſcrutiny into their proceedings would have covered them with ſhame and infamy. There is not one of them in the civil or military, from colonel Clive down to the preſent time, that have not received preſents while in their power. One of the ſtipulations which Mr. Scrafton was inſtructed to make in the ſecret negociations, concerted with Meer Jaffier Ally Kawn, before the army was ordered to move, related merely to the ſums required by the ſecret committee. Mr. Johnſon who had ſucceeded to Mr. Spencer in the ſtation of Perſian tranſlator, for carrying on the correſpondence with the country government under lord Clive, and Mr. Luſhinton was appointed to aſſiſt under him. The day the troops embarked, Mr. Johnſon was ordered to return and do his duty in the artillery; he was the only perſon who had acted under the colonel during the negociation with Meer Jaffier, that was afterwards omitted in the nabob's private bounty, when the reſolution in his favour was crowned with ſucceſs. Mr. Scrafton got a conſiderable fortune; Mr. Luſhington, with many others, who were the colonel's friends, were preſented with ſuch immenſe ſums, that the nabob could not find money in the treaſury to pay what had been ſtipulated for the company, for reſtitution. Navy and army, to be paid on his being ſeated in the maſnud, the greateſt part was deferred to be

paid

paid within three years, and by aſſignments at laſt on the revenues of the province. This affected the army and navy in the diſcount they were neceſſitated, on this pretext to allow the company for advancing their ſhares in ready money; and the company depended on the ſucceſs of the war for three years to ſecure their balance.

After Mr. Johnſton had executed the ſervice he was ſent upon in behalf of the company, without any promiſe or proſpect of reward, while the nabob was under no incumbrances, and kept regularly his payments for the army and the reſtitution; lacks lying in his treaſury at Calcutta. Let the world judge whether he might have received preſents, as well as the other ſervants employed with him, or his lordſhip and friends, ſums infinitely larger eight years before, and the jaghire afterwards, with the greateſt propriety.

The gentlemen who made the treaty with Meer Coſſim, claimed ſome merit in having thus rejected his offer, till the debts Jaffier Ally Kawn left ſtill owing to the company, and the arrears of the troops, were paid, yet none of theſe gentlemen pretended they would not receive them afterwards, nor could ſome of them ſay they did not.

According to the noble lord's own obſervation, it would have appeared abſurd after ſo many years ſervices, after Mr. Johnſton had riſqued his life ſo often, and experienced many reverſes; had he refuſed this only honourable opportunity that ever was likely to offer of becoming independent, and to have truſted to the future kind offices of lord Clive.

At the ſame time the nabob conferred theſe favours on Meſſieurs Johnſtone, Leyceſter, Gray, &c. there was a demand on him for the money of the jaghire, which the nabob had received ſince the company ſtopt the payment of it to lord Clive. In conſequence of the nabob having ſigned the fardſual, which repreſented that Sabut Jung. Colonel Clive having been honoured with the rank of 6000 horſe, and having now a formidable force ready for the king's ſervice, the expence of which he could not defray for want of a jaghire, he hoped the nabob's pleaſure might be ſignified, whether on condition of giving a mutchulea for procuring the king's ſunnud, and adjuſting the terms, till it ſhould arrive, the colonel ſhould receive the ſum of £. 222,958--10, the rents of that jaghire of the nazim. Now though there appeared a tranſlation of the nabob's pervannah to the preſident and council, for paying the rents of the jaghire to lord Clive in 1758, the tranſlators of the above papers never appeared, except the Sunnud dewannee, though they ſeemed of a nature to ſet his lordſhip's claim to that jaghire in a very different light to what it muſt have appeared when the obligation was not conſidered, and when the king's ſunnud with the terms of the jaghire were therein expreſſed, as being abſolutely requiſite to be procured to make it valid, and were never obtained.

Though Mr. Johnſon's conduct in the truſts committed to his charge had been approved of, in repeated letters from the board, and his ſervices had been recommended home in terms very favourable to the directors, yet from every circumſtance and proceeding, there ſeemed a pre-determination in

the committee to injure his character and ruin his fortune. Conſidering the rank of credit he had hitherto ſupported as a member of the council, he could not ſubmit to further indignities, or act in a ſubordinate ſtation. The noble preſident and his committee, inſtead of arming to extenuate the ſuppoſed offence, according to the practice of the courts of juſtice, where the greateſt criminals are arraigned, have evidently ſtrove to aggravate every circumſtance that they endeavoured to charge upon Mr. Johnſton, even in regard to the bills, which he aſſerted, were ordered to be given back to Mahomed Reza Kawn, after he had ſigned the covenants unconditionally, though he might have received their amounts long before. The obvious queſtion was never put to Mooteram, whether he had ever informed Mr. Johnſton, that Mahomed Reza Kawn had refuſed to receive them? and whether, on the contrary, he had not informed him repeatedly that they were given back? the very night before Mooteram's arreſt, and his confinement, he brought Mr. Johnſtone a meſſage from Mahomed Reza Kawn, deſiring he would lend him 50,000 rupees, to pay in on account of the Decca rents for lord Clive's jaghire-money; and the anſwer he returned was, why he did not uſe the money of the bills that were given back? though The examination of thoſe they would make witneſſes, was in a language in which none of his lordſhip's committee were at all perfect; and it was of the greateſt conſequence to have been certain, that all the queſtions and anſwers were ſtrictly and fully tendered, and that whatever was ſaid by the priſoners in the terror and confuſion they were in, ſhould

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be taken down in their own words, eſpecially as expreſſions in this language ſo often admit of interpretations, that may be rendered for or againſt; yet Mooteram and Buſſantroy were confronted with Mahomed Reza Kawn and Juggut Seat, who were firſt called upon to compoſe their narrative. It muſt be obſerved, with how little candour the ſelect committee related their proceedings. In regard to Mooteram, who was expected to be a principal evidence, they ſaid he was only ordered to be ſent for; no notice was taken that he had been ſeized the day before by a party of ſeapoys, and was kept priſoner, with three centries over him, without liberty of ſeeing any perſon whatſoever except his menial ſervants, as if they purpoſely evaded the avowal of ſuch unwarrantable acts. He continued a long while in the ſame cloſe confinement, as well as Buſſantroy under military guards; and under theſe circumſtances, lord Clive propoſed in council, he might be called and examined, as if ſuch treatment was not ſufficient to deter any black man from retracting, however much inclined, whatever he might have ſaid before, falſe or contradictory, where he could not but expect that retraction would draw on him ſtill more diſgrace and unhappy conſequences. The ſuffering of Mooteram pointed out too plainly what others had to expect from ſuch arbitrary power, and ſeemed well calculated to excite every accuſation that could poſſibly be ſcraped together from ſuch ſelfiſh diſappointed men, againſt the gentlemen who had the adminiſtration, and managed the affairs of the company with ſo much credit and ſucceſs.

The

The repeated inſults and injuries Mr. Johnſton received, when he preſided as chief for the collection of the revenues, engaged him to reſign the company's ſervice; when the rajah was ſent for to Calcutta, he did not even dare to viſit him, apprehending that guards might be put upon him, after the example of Mooteram. With what credit could he pretend to return again to the factory, where he muſt have appeared ſo contemptible and of ſo little conſequence, that even thoſe placed under him, durſt not come near him for fear of his lordſhip's diſpleaſure. From the tenor of the proceeding of the noble preſident and his ſelect committee, Mr. Johnſtone could not but conſider them as his avowed enemies, and he reſolved to continue no longer in the ſervice, while they uſurped the whole power into their own hands.

The imputations of lord Clive, and his paſſive committee, againſt Mr. Vanſittart's adminiſtration, might with more juſtice be retorted upon his lordſhip's government; it was a ſeries of tranſactions, equally prejudicial to the company's intereſt and to the national character; all his civil and military regulations ſeemed to demonſtrate that his government was ſmeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppreſſion influenced their deliberations, and that every ſpark of ſentiment and public ſpirit was loſt and extinguiſhed in the unbounded luſt of unmerited wealth.

From the very time his lordſhip received the firſt advices at Fort St. George, of the Demiſe of Meer Jaffier and of Sujah Dowlah's defeat, he took upon himſelf to arraign the authors of the definitive meaſures that had been taken in reſpect to the peace,

and

and filling the vacancy in the nizamut before his arrival, which the council of Calcutta did not think proper to wait for. Indeed, his lordſhip's hopes of providing for his friends was fruſtrated, when he heard that a treaty had been drawn up by the board, with a few additions to that concluded with Meer Jaffier; and a deputation appointed to raiſe the natural ſon of the deceaſed nabob to the ſubahdary, in prejudice to the claim of the grandſon, and the noble lord could not approve of a reſolution dramatically oppoſite to his aſpiring views; Miran's ſon being a minor, this circumſtance alone would have naturally brought the whole adminiſtration into his hands, as he was reſolved to realize that ſhadow and influence, which he would not even allow to a nominal nabob. The company's intereſt were to be ſacrificed to the pretended reformers, that they might revel in the ſpoils of treaſures, before impoveriſhed and afterwards totally annihilated.

The young nabob being acquainted with the diſpoſition of lord Clive and the gentlemen of his committee, a few days after his lordſhip's arrival, paid him a viſit, in which the noble preſident made his excellency oſtentatious promiſes of protection and ſupport, provided he made better complaints againſt the government of thoſe who had preceeded him in the preſidency and council, that he might evince the neceſſity of a reformation, and prevail on the company to give him carta-blanche. In conſequence of thoſe inſinuations, the nabob produced a liſt of inſults and indignities he had been expoſed to, and complained of the embezzlement of near 20 lacks of rupees iſſued from his treaſury, for

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purpoſes unknown during the late negotiations. This produced the deſired enquiry; in conſequence of which Mahomed Reza Cawn and the Naib Sulab, were then called upon to account for the large diſburſement from the treaſury. Lord Clive having by menaces extorted the evidence anſwerable to his purpoſe, repreſented in a letter to the court of directors, that the immenſe ſum of ſeventeen lacks, had been contributions levied on the weakneſs of the government, and violently exacted from the dependent ſtate and timid diſpoſition of the miniſter. The charge was ſtrongly denied by the accuſed, who boldly arraigned the conduct and denied the powers of the ſelect committee, as candour and decency required the truth of a charge brought againſt any of the members, ſhould be determined by the board.

Mr. Johnſton aſſerted, that no proofs could be produced of menaces being uſed to obtain a ſum of money from Juggatſeat; and accuſed the noble preſident and his committee of having obtained this evidence by military force and terrors. Lord Clive himſelf did not approve the covenants for preventing the abuſe of the cuſtomary indulgence to receive preſents.

By re-calling free merchants and other Europeans, who were permitted to reſide up the country, in all the different parts of the nabob's dominions, the buſineſs of the company's ſervants ſuffered conſiderably, from their being obliged to employ black agents on many affairs that demanded the vigour and activity of Europeans. Hence many perſons of merit were deprived the means of ſubſiſtence.

Lord

Lord Clive having found Sujah Dowlah averſe to the eſtabliſhment of factories in his dominions, which he conſidered as laying the foundation of a future rupture, and the only thing that could poſſibly renew hoſtilities, very juſtly obſerved, that the encroachments of the company in Bengal, the great abuſe of the company's ſervants, and the extraordinary extenſion of the privileges originally granted to the Engliſh, had been productive of much confuſion and bloodſhed in Bengal, and he feared might produce ſimilar conſequences in his country; lord Clive and general Carnac judged it adviſeable to omit the word factories in the treaty; but without relinquiſhing the pretended right, ſhould it be found expedient to enforce it.

Notwithſtanding his lordſhip boaſted of his pacific meaſures, as the moſt conducive to the permanent welfare and proſperity of the company; he doubted whether remaining as merchants ſubjected to the juriſdiction of the country government, or the ſupporting their uſurped privileges and poſſeſſions by the ſword, were likely to prove more beneficial to the company, and ſeemed inclined to keep in awe the neighbouring princes by a formidable military eſtabliſhment. All, ſaid he, muſt belong to the company or the nabob, and we leave you to judge, which alternative is the moſt deſirable and the moſt expedient in the preſent circumſtance of affairs. Thus all notions of right and wrong are confounded, and juſtice ſacrificed to conveniency.

To ſecure the company's poſſeſſions they required ſix hundred recruits to be ſent out annually, viz. five hundred infantry, ſixty artillery, twenty cavalry

cavalry, and twenty ſerjeants for the ſeapoys. To this number were to be added thirty volunteers and officers, and ſix or ſeven gentlemen from the academy at Woolwich for artillery officers; this being a ſervice that ſuffers extremely, for want of perſons properly inſtructed to conduct it: ſince no officer who knows the benefit of the infantry ſervice there, will chuſe to quit it for any advantage the artillery will afford, they requeſted 4000 ſtands of arms annually.

Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the ſecret committee, in the letters to the directors, paſſed mutual compliments on each other, on the interior policy and the military regulations introduced into the Bengal provinces. They extolled the good effects of regimenting the company's troops, of their diſcipline, ſubordination, and the œconomy with which all this grand ſyſtem of reformation was carried on. They praiſed to the ſkies general Carnac's extraordinary merit, who ſhould have appeared ſtill more conſpicuous, had he been aſſiſted by field officers, and not thwarted by the late governors and councils.

In regard to the ſmall arms, the bad quality of them had in general expoſed the company's poſſeſſions to the greateſt riſk and danger. The locks were ill finiſhed, and the metal ſo badly tempered, as not to ſtand the heat of the ſun, in that climate. The company purchaſed the ſmall arms at the rate of eighteen ſhillings per firelock, while government paid twenty-ſeven to the perſons who furniſhed them. The caſting of ſhot and ſhells in India, is an object of great importance, and they ſhould always employ ſix perſons well verſed in this

this buſineſs. The illicit importation of ſmall arms to the India ſettlements, and particularly in Bengal, has of late years, become a profitable branch of trade with the European captains, as well as that of furniſhing the natives with ammunition. They elude the ſearches of the company's officers, by ſending round ſmall veſſels to meet them at ſea in certain latitudes, or to Teneriff, or St. Jago, out of the reach of their inquiries. The continuation of ſuch practices may prove fatal to the company's poſſeſſions, who ſhould take every ſtep in their power to prevent the ſale of all kind of fire arms.

Upon Mr. Johnſton's reſigning the company's ſervice, Mr. Verelſt was appointed ſuperviſor in the collection of revenues; his diligence and attention to this great object, could not fail of being commended by his colleagues, who tried to raiſe their reputation on the defamation of Mr. Vanſittart's government.

Indeed, circumſtances were now widely different from what they were a few years ſince, when the company confined their whole attention to commerce, and were happy in being able to complete their inveſtments without inſult, or exaction from the country government. Now they are become ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; their ſucceſs is beheld with jealouſy by the other European powers, who maintain ſettlements in India, and their intereſts are ſo extended, ſo complicated, and ſo connected with thoſe of the ſeveral ſurrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult ſyſtem of politics; the conduct of which has been too often committed into the hands of raſh, inexperienced and ignorant young men, who had neither diſ-

cretion, judgment or ſteadineſs for preſerving this immenſe fabric in its ſplendor and proſperity.

As lord Clive and the ſecret committee, were determined to ſecure the whole power they had engroſſed to themſelves, they oppoſed with all their might the orders of the directors for enlarging the council from twelve to ſixteen members, under pretence that this increaſe in the number of the board would be productive of further inconveniencies, and prove very detrimental to the company's intereſt, they declared it to be their firm opinion founded on experience, that the buſineſs of the Bengal government could never be ſo effectually conducted as by a ſelect unanimous committee. That by dividing the power into many hands, their authority ſhould be weakened, in depriving their meaſures of that ſecrecy neceſſary to the accompliſhment of their private ſpeculations; they excluded from the council, a number of perſons who had a juſt claim to that promotion by their ſervices and ſeniority, and appointed junior ſervants, whom they recommended to the court of directors as proper perſons to fill the vacancies, merely, becauſe they were wholly devoted to his lordſhip and the committee. There was indeed, no other form of government ſo well adopted, and ſo perfectly congenial to the ſyſtem of oppreſſion and monopoly, theſe gentlemen intended to eſtabliſh. When they apprehended ſome inconveniencies from a compliance with the inſtructions of the directors, they took upon themſelves to ſuſpend and even to revoke their orders.

The poſt of reſident at the Durbar, being an employment of conſequence ſince the grant of the Dewannee, Mr. Sykes was appointed to the Dunbar, as

as a gentleman whoſe views and principles agreed perfectly with his lordſhip's adminiſtration.

As long as ambition and avarice ſhall be the predominant paſſions of the company's ſervants, whoſe ſenſe of honour and duty to their employers are eſtranged by the too eager purſuit of their own immediate advantage, the ſudden, and among many, the unwarrantable acquiſition of riches, will countenance luxury in every ſhape, and in its moſt pernicious exceſs. Theſe two enormous evils have infected almoſt every member of each department through the whole preſidency of Bengal; every inferior graſps at wealth, that he might aſſume that ſpirit of profuſion, which is the only diſtinction between him and his ſuperior. Thus all diſtinction has ceaſed, and every rank became in a manner upon an equality. In a country where money is plenty, it is no wonder that corruption ſhould find its way to a ſpot ſo well prepared to receive it. It is no wonder, that the luſt of riches ſhould readily embrace the preferred means of its gratification, or that the inſtruments of power, ſhould proceed even to extortion in theſe caſes where ſimple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Exemples of this ſort ſet by ſuperiors, could not fail of being followed in a proportionable degree by inferiors; the evil was contagious and ſpread among the civil and military, down to the writer, the enſign, and the free merchant.

The large ſums of money acquired by donation, were ſo publicly known and vindicated, that every one thought he had a right to enrich himſelf at all events, with as much expedition as poſſible; the mono-

monopolies were another fund of immenſe profits to ſuch of the company's ſervants as were permitted to enjoy a ſhare in them, while not a rupee of advantage accrued to the government, and very little to the company from the inland trade. Had not theſe various ſources of wealth been lately diſcovered, the aſtoniſhment to find individuals ſo ſuddenly enriched, ſhould not have yet ceaſed; there was ſcarce a gentleman in the Bengal ſettlement, who had not fixed upon a very ſhort period for his return to England with affluence; from hence aroſe that ſpirit of independency, which in a manner ſet all the orders of the directors at defiance, and dictated a total contempt of them, as often as obedience was found incompatible with private intereſt, a great part of the revenues of the country, amounting to near four millions ſterling per annum, was chiefly divided among the company's ſervants, and accounts for the ſudden acquiſition of their fortunes.

Theſe exceſſes were not confined to the civil ſervants alone, the military departments had alſo caught the infection, and riches, the bane of diſcipline were daily promoting the ruin of the army; an independent fortune was the certain proſpect of a field officer. If too rapid a fortune acquired by thoſe, from whom the company expect the ſtudy of commerce and policy, is detrimental to their civil concerns, how effectually deſtructive muſt that evil prove to their military operations. Youths are either juſt ſent out from the academy, and often without even the elements of education, to whom commiſſions have been granted; ſurely, they cannot claim a right to an independent fortune, but after they

they have raiſed by merit to a ſuperior command; yet theſe raw and unexperienced officers, have been ſuffered without controul, to take poſſeſſion for themſelves of the whole booty, donation-money, and plunder, on the capture of a city. This happened at Banaras: every ſtate muſt be near its period, when the rage of luxury and corruption has ſeized upon its leaders. Can trade be encouraged for public benefit, where the management unfortunately devolves upon thoſe who make private intereſt their rule of action? has ſudden affluence ever failed, from the infancy of military diſcipline, to the preſent perfection of it, to corrupt the principle, and deſtroy the ſpirit of an army? independency of fortune is always averſe to thoſe duties of ſubordination, which are inſeparable from the duties of a ſoldier; and in India, if the acquiſition be ſudden, a relaxation of diſcipline is immediately the conſequence. We do not mean, by theſe obſervations to exclude riches from the military: honour alone is ſcarcely a ſufficient reward for the toils and dangers of the field: but the acquiſition of wealth ought to be ſo gradual, as to admit not a proſpect of compleating it, till ſucceſſion by merit, to the rank of a field officer, ſhould have laid a good foundation for the claim.

Lord Clive, reſtoring Sujah Dowlah the whole of his dominions, proceeded more from the policy of not extending the company's territorial poſſeſſions, as he could claim no ſhare in the glory and advantage of theſe new conqueſts, than the generous principle of attaching him by gratitude, though this was his apparent motive. Indeed, the attempt of retaining the conquered country muſt have increaſed

creaſed the military eſtabliſhment; and the acts of oppreſſion and innumerable abuſes, which would have been committed, and which could neither have been prevented nor remedied, at the diſtance of 700 miles from the preſidency, muſt infallibly have laid the foundation of another war, deſtructive and unſucceſsful: the old privileges and poſſeſſions of the company would have been endangered by every ſupply they might have been tempted to afford in ſupport of the new; and the natives muſt have finally triumphed in their inability to ſupport the weight of their unbounded ambition.

His lordſhip in a letter to the directors, dated Calcutta, September 30th, 1765; notwithſtanding all the arts of ſophiſtry, indicated a determination to aboliſh the powers of the council, in order to ſway without controul, as the five members of the ſecret committee were entirely at his devotion. Five gentlemen, ſaid he, well verſed in the company's true intereſt, of abilities to plan, and reſolution to execute; gentlemen whoſe fortunes are honourably approaching to affluence, and whoſe integrity has never ſuffered them to exceed the bounds of moderation; a ſelect committee compoſed of ſuch men, will tranſact more buſineſs in a week, than the council can in a month.

In my opinion, it is the duty of the council to make the power of the preſident appear as extenſive as poſſible in the eyes of the people; that all correſpondence with the country princes, ſhould be carried through him alone, that the council ſhould upon all occaſions be unanimous; the dignity of his ſtation, and that he ought to be conſidered among the natives as the ſole manager and conductor of poli-

political affairs. This was the ſort of government his lordſhip wiſhed to eſtabliſh in Bengal. He lamented the unhappy change, which within a few years had ariſen in the manner and conduct of the company's ſervants in that preſidency, when himſelf had been the firſt cauſe of the revolutions which happened, in conſequence of Meer Jaffier's elevation to the miſnud, and which were productive of that ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs and corruption, which prevailed afterwards in theſe provinces. He propoſed to appoint five or ſix gentlemen from Madraſs, members of the council at Calcutta, as the conduct of the gentlemen upon that eſtabliſhment is in general unacceptionable, and the examples of their regularity, diſcretion, and moderation, would be a means of reſtoring Bengal to good order and government. This ſcheme, which afterwards took place, was to exclude from the council ſeveral members, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his lordſhip's arbitrary meaſures and innovations, and could not approve of his pernicious plan of reformation.

The ſources of tyranny and oppreſſion, which have been opened by European agents, acting under the authority of the company's ſervants, and the numberleſs black agents and their ſubſtitutes, will be a laſting reproach to the Engliſh name in Bengal. It is impoſſible to enumerate the grievances of the unfortunate inhabitants; inſtead of ſecuring the confidence of the natives, they have been frightened with a rod of iron. Ambition, ſucceſs, and luxury, have formed a ſyſtem of politics, at the expence of Engliſh honour, the company's faith, and even of common juſtice and huma-

humanity. Foreign nations have long entertained jealouſies of the commercial ſuperiority. Public complaints have been frequently made from both French and Dutch factories; that the dread of the Engliſh name, added to the encouragement of the company's ſervants at different aurungs, had deterred the weavers from complying with their uſual and neceſſary demands; and ſoon or later national remonſtrances will be made on that ſubject. Perhaps one half of the trade being reſerved to the Engliſh company, and the other divided between the French, Dutch and Danes, in ſuch proportion, as might be ſettled between their reſpective commiſſaries, might adjuſt theſe diſputes to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties. Beſides, as every nation which trades to the Eaſt Indies conſtantly brings out ſilver for the purchaſe of merchandize in return; and as the Engliſh company's revenues will for the future enable them to furniſh all their inveſtments, without any remittance from England, it ſeems neceſſary that they ſhould, in ſome degree encourage the trade of others, in order that this country may be ſupplied by them with bullion, to replace the quantity the Engliſh ſhall annually ſend to China, or to any other part of the world.

The committee of ſecrecy appointed to enquire into the adminiſtration of juſtice in Bengal, and conſidering it as one of the moſt important objects of their commiſſion, to report to the houſe the ſtate of judicature in that country, as the neceſſary ground work for eſtabliſhing proper regulations for the future adminiſtration of juſtice, have conſidered the alterations which have been introduced into the ancient ſtate of judicature of the mogul em-

empire by the influence or authority of the company, or their ſervants.

In examining into the ancient conſtitution of judicature in Bengal, during the vigour of the Mogul government, the committee chiefly enquired into the following points. The names and diſtinctions of the ſeveral courts; the judges in each; the laws and rules by which they decided; under what controul of appeal they lay; under what influence by the power of the government; and laſtly, the purity or corruption that prevailed in the adminiſtration of juſtice in theſe courts.

From the general account given by the gentlemen examined before them; and alſo, from that contained in the books and correſpondence of the company, according to the ancient conſtitution of Bengal, the adminiſtration of juſtice, both in the capital and ſeveral diſtricts, was diſtributed into different branches of judicature, for the exerciſe of criminal, civil, religious, and revenue juriſdiction.

The criminal court in every diſtrict, was generally known by the name of Phouſdary; the zemindar or rajah of the diſtrict was the judge in this court; his juriſdiction extended to all criminal caſes; but in ſuch as were of a capital nature, the ſentence was not to be executed until a report of the caſe was made to the government at Murſhadabad, and their orders received upon it. The proceedings in this court were ſummary; the moſt frequent mode of puniſhment, particularly where the accuſed was a man of wealth, was by fine; and every fine impoſed by the authority of the court was a perquiſite of the zemindar himſelf, by virtue

of his tenure of the lands; the natural effects of this circumſtance, upon the fair adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, appear to have been ſeverely felt, under the ancient conſtitution of Bengal.

The court of civil juriſdiction in every diſtrict, was generally known by the name of Adawlat: the zemindar or rajah of the province was the judge alſo in this court: it's judicature extended to all cauſes between party and party: the judge, as a perquiſite of his office, was entitled to a ſhare of whatever was recovered in his court, which amounted to a fourth or fifth of the whole value.

It appears, that this extraordinary circumſtance in the conſtitution of that judicature, greatly affected the confidence of the people in its juſtice; that parties was very reluctant to reſort to this tribunal, and that hence it has been a long prevailing practice in Bengal, to refer matters of controverſy to arbitrators, choſen by the parties.

It appears, that theſe judicatures were not guided by any regular ſyſtem of law; that the khoran was the only code, and its commentators the only authorities allowed in that country: that where theſe afforded no rule of deciſion, the cuſtoms and uſage of the country, if applicable to the caſe, were the proper guide; but that the rules derived from the ſources, were in general very looſe and uncertain; and that the neceſſary conſequence of ſo imperfect a ſyſtem of law, rendered the exerciſe of criminal and civil judicature in Bengal, in a great meaſure diſcretionary. The right of appeal lay from the provincial courts to thoſe of the ſame nature at the capital: but the powers of government often interfered in the proceedings of the courts of juſtice;

juſtice, the general courſe of application for redreſs againſt any proceedings of the court of juſtice, was to the power of the government, eſpecially where the party found himſelf in a ſituation to expect its favour and protection; and the government upon ſuch occaſions, not only exerciſed a diſcretionary power over the proceedings of the courts, but frequently gave ſuch remedy, or inflicted ſuch puniſhment as they thought proper, without the interpoſition of any judicature. It appears, that the want of ſubordinate juriſdictions in different parts of the zemindary diſtricts, was attended with much hardſhip to the lower claſs of people; that ſuch of them only as lived in the neighbourhood of the ſeat of judicature, could have acceſs to theſe tribunals; and that even to theſe, the expences attending ſuits in the courts, were almoſt an entire excluſion of the poſſibility of obtaining juſtice by law. That on the other hand, the principal perſons in the ſeveral diſtricts could ſeldom be brought under the authority of the courts, and when they ſubmitted to them, were able to defeat their juſtice by means of their influence with government.

The adminiſtration of juſtice during the vigour of the ancient conſtitution, was liable to great abuſe and oppreſſion; the judges generally lay under the influence of intereſt, and often under that of corruption; and the interpoſition of government from the motives of favour or diſpleaſure, was another frequent cauſe of the perverſion of juſtice.

One material circumſtance, that muſt have greatly tended to encourage the abuſe of this judicature in theſe courts, appears to have been the want of

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any judicial regiſter of their proceedings; ſo that there could not exiſt any authentic document of their proceedings to be the ſubject of review, by any ſuperior authority.

Cauſes reſpecting religion appear to have been diſtinguiſhed from the ordinary courſe of judicature; queſtions of this nature were not truſted to the judgment or diſcretion of the temporal judge; in every ſuch caſe, the judge before whom the queſtion depended, was obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the cazee of the diſtrict, and even to ſubmit to his authority in the deciſion of the cauſe: the Gentoo ſubjects enjoyed a ſimilar privilege with reſpect to all caſes of a religious nature, in which perſons of that perſuaſion were parties; for that in every ſuch caſe, it was neceſſary, that the temporal judge ſhould be aſſiſted by a bramin of the caſt, particularly where the cauſe was of ſuch a nature as might be attended with the forfeiture of coſt.

All caſes reſpecting the revenue, or the rents of the lands, were under the cognizance of a peculiar court in every diſtrict; formerly the zemindar, or rajah held the authority of this judicature alſo; but for ſome years before the acquiſition of the dewannee, this juriſdiction of the zemindar has gone into diſuſe, and has ſince been exerciſed by the naib Duan, appointed in every diſtrict by the principal Duan at Murſhadabad; this officer decided in all cauſes of revenue, but appeal lay from his deciſion to the principal Duan.

With reſpect to the courts eſtabliſhed at the capital by the ancient conſtitution of the Bengal province. The nazim as ſupreme magiſtrate preſides perſonally in the trials of capital offenders, and

and holds a court every Sunday; crimes not capital are tried before the Phouſdar, but reported to the nazim for his judgment and ſentence.

The Duan is the proper judge of all cauſes of property, except thoſe which reſpect land and inheritance and alſo take cognizance of quarrels, frays and abuſive names.

The cazee is the judge in all claims of inheritance or ſucceſſion, aſſiſted by the Mufti, who is the expounder of the law; and alſo by the Moteſib, a magiſtrate whoſe immediate duty is to ſuperintend the weights and meaſures and other matters of police; the manner of proceeding in the cazee's court is, that after hearing the cauſe, the Mufti writes the law applicable to it, and the cazee pronounces judgment accordingly; unleſs he, or the Moteſib diſapproves of the law; in which caſe, the cauſe is referred to the nazim, who ſummons the general aſſembly, conſiſting of the above-mentioned magiſtrates, and all the learned in the law, to meet and decide upon it; which deciſion is final.

Such appears to have been the ſyſtem of judicature, eſtabliſhed by the ancient conſtitution of Bengal; the ſubjects of the mogul empire in that province derived little protection or ſecurity from any of theſe courts; and in general, though forms of judicature were eſtabliſhed and preſerved, the deſpotic principles of the government rendered them the inſtruments of power rather than of juſtice, not only unavailing to protect the people, but often the means of the moſt grievous oppreſſions, under the cloak of this judicial character.

As to the manner in which the Engliſh company, or its ſervants, uſed to proceed, during the ancient govern-

government, to compel payment of their debts from any of the natives not reſiding under the Britiſh flags where the debtor was a perſon dependent or connected with the company in the courſe of commerce, and reſiding (as theſe perſons generally did) in the neighbourhood of any of the company's ſettlements, the general practice was to lay hold of his perſon by their own authority, without applying to any court, or officer of the government: they ſometimes ventured to exerciſe the ſame right, even where the debtor did not fall under that deſcription, but this was an abuſe, though generally overlooked by the government. In the former caſe, the government tacitly allowed and countenanced the practice of ſeizing and detaining the debtor, being inclined to give all poſſible encouragement to the Europeans, from whoſe commerce their country then derived ſuch conſiderable advantages. In caſes where it was not thought prudent to proceed in this manner, the only remedy was by application to government: but there was ſeldom occaſion to make uſe of either of theſe ways to compel payment of any debt to the company, or their ſervants; for the perſons dealing with them reaped ſo much benefit from that connection, that there ſeldom aroſe any diſpute between them.

The French and Dutch exerciſed the ſame privilege of ſeizing their debtors, and even continued the practice after the company's acquiſition of the Dewannee. This practice having been ſince prohibited by the noble preſident and council, the French in very ſtrong terms remonſtrated againſt this order, as a violation of a right which they had always held and exerciſed under the country government;

vernment; but the preſident and council denied this pretenſion, and inſiſted that the French ſhould have recourſe to the courts of juſtice to compel payment of their debts; but this diſpute has not been brought to a concluſion.

With reſpect to the alterations, the ancient ſtate of judicature in Bengal has undergone ſince the decline of the mogul government, and the introduction of the company's influence in Bengal, during the firſt period of Meer Jaffier's government, although he had been raiſed to the nabobſhip by the power and influence of lord Clive; the adminiſtration of juſtice continued in its former courſe, with little interruption or alteration from that power which had made the revolution. During the government of Coſſim Ally Kawn, the Engliſh influence began to operate, not only in conſequence of the revolution itſelf, accompliſhed by their power, but becauſe from that time, many Engliſh, with or without the conſent of the precedency, diſperſed themſelves over the country, and engaged in its interior commerce, which often led them to interfere with the judicature and government of the country; beſides Coſſim's attention was ſo much turned to the increaſe of his revenue, that he gave very little regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice, or to the maintenance of that part of his authority againſt the encroachments of the Engliſh ſubjects reſiding in his territories, farther than was neceſſary for ſecuring the collection of his revenues.

The third revolution made by the Engliſh, in reſtoring Meer Jaffier, neceſſarily added to their power and influence in the whole adminiſtration of government in Bengal, and of courſe rendered the admi-

adminiſtration of juſtice in the judicature of the country, very liable to be ſwayed or influenced by any ſervant of the company, whoſe ſituation gave him an opportunity, and whoſe intereſt afforded him incitement, to interfere in any of their judicial proceedings. Since the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh power in Bengal, on its preſenting footing, the benyans of the Engliſh company's ſervants, wherever they reſide, entirely govern the courts of judicature, and they even frequently ſit as judges in theſe courts. In 1771, the members of the company's council, ſat at Patna, alternately in the revenue court together with the rajah.

But though theſe ſucceſſive revolutions accompliſhed by the Engliſh power in Bengal, neceſſarily rendered their influence very operative in the affairs of the government, and although the gomaſtahs of the ſervants of the company frequently aſſumed to themſelves the exerciſe of judicature; yet, it does not appear, that any alteration in the legal conſtitution of the judicature of the country was made before the acquiſition of the Dewannee. Ever ſince ſome alterations have been made and a variety of regulations propoſed, reſpecting the adminiſtration of juſtice; but the effect has appeared in the moſt enormous abuſes, and the moſt unwarrantable acts of arbitrary power. As the reſidents at the durbar poſſeſſed a very extenſive authority, they ſhould for the honour of the Engliſh nation uſe it to promote juſtice and protect the natives from injury.

The court of directors had recommended to the ſelect committee at Bengal, to endeavour to introduce laws of inheritance, and as near as poſſible

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to the ſpirit of the laws of England ; particularly to endeavour to aboliſh the power of ſeizing the effects of thoſe who die without children ; and to introduce the right of bequeathing by will ; referring to their judgment, how far this could be done, conſiſtent with the claims of the rajahs and landholders, and the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country.

In a letter, dated Auguſt 1770, from the ſupervifor at Nattore, to the reſident at the durbar, an account is given of the trial of a woman before the criminal court at Bhittareah, attended by the proper officers of the Mahometan and Gentoo religions, upon a charge of the murder of a woman, and the deſtruction of a child with which ſhe was pregnant, by giving her medicines to procure an abortion, and uſing the moſt barbarous means in extracting the foetus. This trial was held publickly in the ſupervifor's preſence ; the fact was clearly proved by different witneſſes upon oath, and the court deemed her deſerving capital puniſhment ; but they heſitated to pronounce that ſentence, from a ſcrupulous regard to the ſtrictneſs of the Mahometan law, which requires the atteſtation of a certain number of eye witneſſes, and thoſe of the Muſſulmen faith, to ſanctify a ſentence of death, even for murder, and with the cleareſt evidence of the fact. It therefore reſts (continues the letter) with you and the miniſter of the nabob, to determine whether or not, it may be allowable to ſet aſide thoſe obſtacles to the execution of a puniſhment, which is forbidden only by a religious partiality, incompatible with equity and the natural laws of ſociety.

The inſtructions of the preſident and council of Calcutta, communicated by the reſident at the durbar, to the ſuperviſors of the ſeveral diſtricts, after obſerving the degree of corruption to which the courts of judicature were degenerated, and particularly the miſchievous conſequences of allowing arbitrary fines, and compromiſing offences, direct the ſuperviſors, to check every ſuch compoſition, and in matters of property to recommend arbitration as much as poſſible, and to inculcate into the minds of the people, that their only object is to provide for their relief and happineſs. That in capital caſes, the ſentence ſhould be referred to the reſident at the durbar, and by him to the miniſter, to approve or mitigate it, according to the nature of the caſe. That they ſhould eſtabliſh regiſters of all cauſes and determinations to be lodged in the principal cutcherry of the province, and that an authenticated copy be tranſmitted to Murſhadabad. That they endeavour to reform all the corruption which have encroached on the primitive rights of the Mahometans and Hindoos, particularly in reſpect of the arbitrary impoſitions of fines. That all perſons claiming any judicial or religious authority, ſhould be ſummoned to produce their ſunnuds, and that regiſters of theſe ſunnuds ſhould be kept, in order to prevent any for exerciſing a judicial, becauſe a lucrative function, who is not appointed by government, if a Mahometan, or elected by his caſt of a Hindoo. That the forfeiture of a caſt ſhould never be inflicted on any caſe but by ſentence of the bramin, in a regular proceſs, and upon clear proof of the offence? but as the policy of the Mahometan government had provided,

vided, that where a Hindoo has legally forfeited his caſt, he cannot be reſtored to it, without the ſanction of the government; that this principle ſhould be kept up, as a direct aſſertion of the ſubordination of the Hindoos, who are a very conſiderable majority of the ſubjects.

The court of directors alſo ſent orders to theſe commiſſioners, that they ſhould make ſtrict and ſpeedy enquiry into the proceedings of the courts of juſtice throughout their ſettlements, and that if any extraordinary powers had interfered to interrupt the courſe and adminiſtration of juſtice, they ſhould without delay correct all ſuch abuſes; and that if they ſhould find the eſtabliſhed courts ſo imperfectly conſtituted, as not to be adequate to the right adminiſtration of juſtice, they ſhould apply to the government, and obtain firmauns for erecting ſuch new judicatures as ſhould appear moſt adequate to that purpoſe.

Theſe commiſſioners accordingly aſſumed and exerciſed the right of ſuperintending and reviewing the proceedings of the courts of juſtice in their ſeveral diſtricts, where any caſe of difficulty or peculiar importance occurred, they reported a ſtate of the proceedings to the reſident at Murſhadabad, in order, that he might lay it before the government, and return ſuch orders as the nabob or his miniſters with his approbation ſhould direct. This practice accordingly has prevailed throughout Bengal, and appears to be the ſtrongeſt evidence of the abſolute ſway, and controul to which the whole adminiſtration of government, and particularly the courts of juſtice, have ſubmitted ſince the company's acceſſion to the dewannee. Appeals were frequently made

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from the two courts at Dacca to the reſident at the durbar, who made proper enquiry into, and decided ultimately the cauſes ſo brought before him.

Mahomed Reza Kawn having been joined by the gentleman appointed to reſide at Murſhadabad as a council of controul, the preſident and council reſolved, that the council of controul ſhould interpoſe as there ſhould be occaſion, and that every tranſaction relative to the government ſhould ultimately come before them; in all criminal caſes through the provinces, the trial was tranſmitted to them for their approbation, before the ſentence was executed. Two courts were eſtabliſhed by the council of controul, conſiſting of all the members of the council, to reviſe the proceedings of the country courts, and finally to determine thereon.

One of the greateſt grievances in the adminiſtration of juſtice, was the venality and oppreſſion of the Cazees, who ſince the company's acceſſion, had invented a variety of new taxes upon the ryotts and eſtabliſhed a mode of compromiſe for criminal offences.

The Cazees were directed never to demand any compoſition for crimes; that the rate of their fees be ſtuck up, atteſted by the zemindar on the wall of the cutchery in the Perſian and Bengal languages. That the Peon apprehending a priſoner ſhall not take above two annas per day, beſides victuals; and that where the perſon can give good ſecurity for his appearance, they ſhould not keep Peons upon his perſon. That if any Engliſh Gomaſtah takes upon him to ſend peons and detain priſoners, or any inferior officers exerciſe juriſdictions beyond their own precinct, they ſhould take pro-

proper ſteps to put a ſtop to ſuch unwarrantable practices.

Mr. Ducarel, ſuperviſor at Purnea, made a report to the council of three criminal trials; one for the murder of a child, in which ſentence of death had been paſſed, waiting only for the proper approbation to be put in execution; and two other caſes of theft and robbery, for which, by the Mahometan law, the criminals were condemned to have one hand and one foot cut off, propoſing that in lieu of that puniſhment, in theſe and ſimilar caſes, the criminals ſhould be ſent to the public works. The anſwer from the council ſtated, that the ultimate deciſion in criminal caſes reſted entirely with the Naib Subah, who returned his ſentence to the officers of the Adawlat; adding, that ſhould the order of the preſident and council, with reſpect to the diſtinction to be obſerved between the dewannee and the nizamut, admit of the council's interpoſing in criminal caſes, they ſhould then take into conſideration the propriety of the propoſed deviations from the rules of the Mahometan law.

Mr. Rous, ſuperviſor of Rageſhaby, tranſmitted in a letter to the chief and council of revenue, the proceedings of two trials for different murders; with reſpect to one of them, he only mentioned that the perſon accuſed had been condemned to die, and that two perſons included in the charge were acquitted; the other was the trial of a father for the murder of his daughter, an infant of ſix months old, by cleaving her head aſunder; the fact was proved according to the forms of the Mahometan law, by his own confeſſion, excuſing it as done in a fit of deſpair, on account of ſome delay in the cere-

ceremony of his intended marriage : by the authority of one paſſage in the khoran, this criminal ſhould have been puniſhed with death ; but the latter commentators, and eſpecially a ſociety of learned men, who were employed by the authority of Aurengzebe to digeſt the civil and criminal inſtitutions of the khoran, had mitigated the rigour of this law, regarding the deſtruction of a grown perſon, as a puniſhment more than adequate to the death of a child. He concluded with obſerving, that the peculiar circumſtances of barbarity in this caſe ought, notwithſtanding the lenity of theſe authorities, to undergo the ſevereſt puniſhment.

The council in anſwer to this letter, mentioned that, in conſideration of the peculiar barbarity of the caſe, the Naib Subah had pronounced a ſentence in ſome degree beyond the letter of the law, though not ſo far as affect the life of the culprit.

The preſident and council in their inſtructions ſaid expreſsly, " Although we wiſh to interfere as little as poſſible with the buſineſs that appertains to the nizamut, and eſtabliſhed by long uſage in the country, yet as we are deſirous of checking the arbitrary proceedings of the Mooriſh courts of juſtice, from a duty we owe to the happineſs and ſecurity of the inhabitants ; we will therefore, that you will give the ſtricteſt attention to prevent injuſtice, as much as poſſible, by your repreſentation to government as occaſions offer.

Mr. Stewart, reſident at Burdwan, in his anſwer obſerved, that the courſe of deciſion, by arbitration was found dilatory, undeciſive and unſatisfactory ; that the inhabitants were become very averſe to that manner of proceeding, preferring

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greatly the eſtabliſhed cutcheries, eſpecially whilſt under the ſuperintendance of a company's ſervant; that in his opinion, the abuſes in the adminiſtration of juſtice were to be imputed rather to the corrupt principles of the Mahometan and Gentoo judges, than to any defects in the laws or in the regulations of the courts; and that therefore, theſe grievances could not be in any way ſo well redreſſed as by a ſtrict ſuperintendance of the company's ſervants in their ſeveral juriſdictions.

It is to be obſerved, that throughout all Indoſtan, in caſe of theft, robbery, or murder, the zemindar of the province is bound to proſecute the murderer or thief, and the effects; and are liable to be called themſelves to account, if they fail in this duty.

Mr. Bently, chief at Luckypoor gave his opinion; that there would be inconvenience in the entire abolition of the judicial fees, by affording too much encouragement to litigation, whereby the charges of the cutcherries to government would be greatly increaſed; and that though diſcretionary fines ought not to be allowed, yet under proper regulations adopted to the degree of the offence, that mode of puniſhment ſeemed the leaſt; that it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to appoint ſubordinate powers of judicature, for the protection of the poor inhabitants reſiding at a diſtance from the metropolis of the diſtrict; that the mode of arbitration was in general, very difficult; as few perſons chuſe to undertake that office; and that, to carry it into general practice, it would be neceſſary to make the natives, when called upon, to act in that character, liable to certain fines on refuſal or neglect.

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The naib Duan preſented a memorial to the preſident and council, on the ſubject of arbitration, accurately diſtinguiſhing ſuch caſes as are proper for that mode of deciſion, and ſuch as muſt be decided by the courts of judicature; according to the law of the latter kind be ſtated all diſputes of inheritance, property, purchaſes, aſſignments, and the like; that theſe caſes depending upon the laws of the ſcriptures, according to the orders of the almighty and his prophet, cannot be proper ſubjects of adminiſtration, for the right muſt be decided according to the precepts of the law, and common arbitrators cannot be proper judges thereof. That caſes of miſdemeanor, or offence, by one ſubject to another, cannot be referred to arbitration, but muſt be judged and puniſhed by the proper officers of juſtice, and much more eſpecially crimes of a higher magnitude muſt undergo the judgment of the law itſelf: that on the other hand, in caſes of debt, account at other commercial concern, arbitration is the beſt mode of deciſion: that he had accordingly iſſued orders to the officers of the courts of juſtice in the ſeveral diſtricts, that in all matters of debt, trade, petty quarrels and ordinary occurrences where the parties are willing to refer, they ſhould appoint arbitrators, and that regiſters be duly kept in the court of Adawlat of all cauſes decided in that way.

The council, in conſequence of theſe repreſentations enforced the neceſſity of reſtricting the orders relative to arbitration, to ſuch caſes ſpecified for that purpoſe; for that it would be productive of the greateſt diſſatisfaction in the country, of that mode of deciſion was to be ſubſtituted in the place of ju-

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dicial determinations, in ſuch caſes as fall under the fixt principles of the Mahometan law, that ſuch a meaſure would be regarded by all the Mahometans as an infringment on their religion and cuſtoms, would excite great diſcontent and apprehenſion, and perhaps be liable to an obſtinate and inflexible oppoſition. The preſident and council declared, that all caſes of inheritance, marriages or other matters for which the Mahometan law has made proviſion, and likewiſe matters reſpecting inheritance, and the particular laws and uſages of the caſts of the Gentoos ſhould be decided by the eſtabliſhed magiſtrates, aſſiſted by the proper perſons of the reſpective religions, according to the laws and uſages of each.

The naib Duan remonſtrated againſt the inſtructions of the preſident and council, which directed, that in caſes of inheritance of the Gentoos, the magiſtrates ſhould be aſſiſted by the bramins of the caſt to which the parties belong, and ſtated for his reaſons againſt allowing a bramin to be called in to the deciſion of any matter of inheritance, or other diſpute of Gentoos; that ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Mahometan dominion in Hindoſtan, the bramins had never been admitted to ſuch juriſdiction: that to order a magiſtrate of the faith to decide, in conjunction with a bramin, would be repugnant to the rules of the faith, and an innovation peculiarly improper in a country under the dominion of a muſſulman emperor: that where the matter in diſpute can be decided by a reference to bramins, no interruption had ever been given to that mode of deciſion; but that where they think fit to reſort

to the eſtabliſhed judicatures of the country, they muſt ſubmit to a deciſion according to the rules and principles of that law, by which alone theſe courts are authoriſed to judge: that there would be the greateſt abſurdity in ſuch an aſſociation of judicature, becauſe the bramin would determine according to the precepts and uſages of his caſt, and the magiſtrates muſt decide according to thoſe of the Mahometan law: that in many inſtances the rules of the Gentoo and Muſſulman laws, even with reſpect to inheritance and ſucceſſion, differ materially from each other.

There was to be a fixed time for the limitation of ſuits and complaints; upon this point it is obſerved, that, both by the Mahometan and Hindoo laws, and by the uſage of the country, all claims which have laid dormant for twelve years, whether land or money, are invalid.

The practice of individuals exerciſing authority over their debtors, was entirely aboliſhed.

The judicatures exiſting at Calcutta conſiſted of the courts derived out of the conſtitution of the country; and of thoſe eſtabliſhed by his Britannic majeſty's charter of juſtice, until the charter of juſtice granted to the company in the thirteenth year of his late majeſty, the only courts of juſtice that exiſted in Calcutta were derived out of the conſtitution of the country. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the ſettlement at Calcutta, near the end of the laſt century, the Engliſh company obtained from the nabob the zemindary rights of the diſtrict around that ſettlement; by which they became the zemindar of that diſtrict, with all the rights, incident to that office, amongſt which, is

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the criminal, civil, and religious jurisdiction of the district. The company exercises these several jurisdictions within the district of Calcutta, in consequence of their being the zemindar of the district. There are three courts established at Calcutta, for the trial of crimes, for civil causes, and for matters of revenue.

The criminal court tries all crimes committed by the natives, and in this respect has a concurrent jurisdiction with the court of oyer and terminer, established by the charter of justice; one judge only sits in that court, appointed by the governor and council. Formerly one of the council was always appointed to this office, but this duty has of late years been entrusted to junior servants, one of the council being appointed monthly to superintend. In capital cases, three members of the board sit as judges in this court, and before the execution of the sentence, the proceedings must be laid before the governor and council. The civil court consists of several judges also appointed by the governor and council out of the junior servants, but seldom more than one actually sits. This court has jurisdiction of all causes between the natives, and also in causes between a native and an European, where the latter is plaintiff; but in this case the native may remove the cause into the mayor's court. The rule of judgment in these courts, is supposed to be the customs and usage of the country; and where no custom or usage applies, it is at the discretion of the judge.

The jurisdictions of these courts being in themselves very defective, and moreover very inadequate to the advanced state of this settlement, and similar

similar defects being found in other settlements of the company, application was made to the crown, in the thirteenth year of the late king, for a charter of justice.

A charter was accordingly granted by virtue of powers vested in the crown by several acts of parliament, grants and orders, "That there should be for ever thereafter, within the factory of Fort William, in Bengal, one body politic and corporate, by the name of the mayor and aldermen of Calcutta; at Fort William in Bengal to consist of a mayor and nine aldermen, the mayor and seven aldermen being natural-born subjects, but the other two to be allowed to be foreign protestants: and it is further granted, that the mayor and aldermen should for ever thereafter be, and are thereby constituted a court of record, by the name of the mayor's court at Calcutta; and that they, or any three of them (the mayor or senior alderman then resident there to be one) may, and are thereby authorised, to try, hear and determine all civil suits, actions or plaints between party and party, arising within the said town or factory of Calcutta, or any of the factories, subordinate thereunto, except such suits as shall be between Indian natives, which shall be determined among themselves, unless both parties consent to the determination of the mayor's court: and this court is also authorised to try suits, brought against the company, or by the company against any person.

This charter also constitutes the president and council to be a court of record, in order to receive, try and determine appeals from the judgments or decrees

decrees of the mayor's court: the determinations of this court to be final, if the value does not exceed 1000 pagadoes; but if it exceeds that ſum, the parties are allowed, within fourteen days after ſuch decree or judgment is entered on record, to appeal to his majeſty in council; the ſaid charter alſo eſtabliſhes a court for recovery of ſmall debts, within the ſaid town or factory at Calcutta and the factories and diſtricts ſubordinate thereto; and the ſaid charter farther grants and ordains the governor and council to be juſtices of the peace, and have power to act as ſuch, and to hold quarter ſeſſions of the peace, and alſo to be commiſſioners of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, for trying and puniſhing all offences (high treaſon only excepted) committed within the Bengal's juriſdiction; the ſaid charter farther grants, that the ſaid mayor's court ſhall have power to grant probate of wills and letters of adminiſtration.

Although this court cannot legally iſſue proceſs beyond the bounds of Calcutta, or its ſubordinate factories, yet their proceſs hath been iſſued to and executed in all parts of Bengal, under ſpecial order of the governor and council, granted or refuſed at their diſcretion, and that in all theſe caſes the proceſs was ſent to one of the company's ſervants; the criminal juriſdiction of the ſeſſions to have the ſame extent as the mayor's court, and native, were ſent from every part of the country to be tried in that court; and all Europeans were brought in the ſame manner from any part of the country, except from the factories belonging to other European nations.

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It appeared to the committee appointed by the houſe of commons, that the judges of theſe courts are juſtly ſenſible of their own deficiency of knowledge in the laws of England, and that therefore they, as well as the preſident and council, have frequently applied to the court of directors, to lay particular points, reſpecting their juriſdiction, before council, and to tranſmit the opinions of ſuch counſel, to be the guide of their conduct. Some inſtances of this kind have been laid before the committee, upon doubts reſpecting their eccleſiaſtical, and alſo their criminal juriſdiction; particularly whether the charter allows them to take cognizance of murders, robberies, and other crimes committed by Europeans, not immediately under the company's flag. There were ſeveral perſons in confinement committed beyond the limits preſcribed in the charter of juſtice, whoſe trial was prevented from doubts ariſing with reſpect to the powers conveyed by the charters.

Whatever doubts have been entertained in Bengal, on this ſubject, it is clear by the very terms of the charter of juſtice, that the juriſdiction of the court of oyer and terminer and goal delivery, is reſtrained to offences committed within the town or diſtrict of Calcutta and its ſubordinate factories: the conſequence of this, in the preſent ſituation of Bengal, is, that there are many of his majeſty's ſubjects, reſiding in Bengal, neither under the protection or controul of the laws of England, nor amenable to the criminal judicatures of the country. Mr. Withal had laid before the court of directors a petition, in which he complained of having been diſmiſſed from his office,

fice, as attorney of the mayor's court at Calcutta; by an arbitrary and illegal proceeding of that court, without any regular complaint, without any ſufficient allegation, without evidence upon oath, and without having had ſufficient time to make his defence; and alſo that the order of diſmiſſion, beſides finding him guilty of miſconduct in a particular cauſe depending before the court, contained a general charge of his having frequently merited the general reprehenſion of the court, but without ſpecifying any particular facts.

The court of directors having taken the opinion of their counſel upon this caſe, expreſſed their diſapprobation of the general charge contained in the order againſt Mr. Wilthall, without any allegation of facts to ſupport it, as highly improper and unbecoming a court of juſtice, and they recommended it to the governor and council to admit Mr. Wilthall's appeal, and to act therein as juſtice ſhould require. The committee begged leave to ſubmit to the conſideration of the houſe ſome very ſingular circumſtances, which ſeemed materially to affect their independence and their efficacy.

Although the mayor's court was intended not only to try cauſes between party and party, on the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery to puniſh the crimes of private individuals, but the former alſo to try cauſes in which the company itſelf is a party, and the latter to puniſh the offences of any of their ſervants, yet the judges of theſe courts were removal from theſe offices, by virtue of which, they exerciſed their judicial functions at the pleaſure of the preſident and council, and that ſuch ſentence could not be reviewed, but by the te-

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dious mode of an appeal to his majeſty in council. Courts thus conſidered, could not be conſidered as free and independent judicatures, in any caſe where the company's a party, or where any member of the council is proſecuted on a criminal charge.

Although theſe courts, at leaſt, with reſpect to the Europeans, were bound to judge according to the laws of England, yet the judges of thoſe courts were not required to be, and, in fact, have never been perſons educated in the knowledge of thoſe laws by which they muſt decide; but any of the junior ſervants of the company were ſelected for theſe important truſts, affecting the property, the liberty, and the lives of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Bengal.

The committee ſtated to the houſe ſuch proviſions as have been made by law, for the trial and puniſhment in England, of offences committed by the company's ſervants in Bengal, to ſpecify in what inſtances thoſe proviſions have been attempted to be carried into execution, with the reſult of the proceedings, and ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe, ſome circumſtances which appeared greatly to obſtruct the efficacy of any remedy in England, as the law on that ſubject is now conſtituted.

By an act, paſſed in the 24th of George II. entituled, "An act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion of officers and ſoldiers in the ſervice of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt Indies; and for the puniſhment of offences committed in the Eaſt Indies, or at the iſland of St. Helena," it is provided, "That if any of the company's preſidents or council,

council, at any of their principal ſettlements, ſhall be guilty of oppreſſing any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, within their reſpective juriſdictions or commands, or of any other crime or offence contrary to the laws of England, or enforce within their reſpective juriſdictions or commands, ſuch oppreſſion, crimes or offences, may be enquired of, heard and determined in his majeſty's court of King's Bench in England, or before ſuch commiſſioners, as ſhall be aſſigned by his majeſty's commiſſion, and by good and lawful men of the ſame country; and that ſuch puniſhments ſhall be inflicted on ſuch offenders, as are uſually inflicted for offences of the like nature, committed in England. The ſame is enacted, by an act paſſed in the 10th year of his preſent majeſty, in regard to any oppreſſion, crime and offence committed, by any perſon employed in the ſervice of the company, in any civil or military ſtation or office; or claiming any power, authority or juriſdiction from the ſaid company.

Mr. Nuthall, late ſolicitor to the Eaſt-India company, informed the committee, that he had received orders from the court of directors to proſecute lord Clive, and a great number of gentlemen who had been in the company's ſervice in India, to recover very conſiderable ſums claimed to be due from them to the company, on account of the duties on ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, and which it was the opinion of their counſel were recoverable. To proceed againſt lord Clive, to recover a demand of 1 ½ per cent. on the net dewannee revenues of Bengal, which his lordſhip received by way of commiſſion as preſident of Fort William, for ſe-

veral months after he had quitted that presidency; and also, against Mr. Verelst, in respect of the commission of the said revenues received by him when he was president at Fort William; and to prosecute several other persons, who had been in the company's service, on whom the company were advised they had demands on account of the Mhatoote-tax in Bengal; that three bills in equity, of great length and nicety, had been prepared against a great number of defendants respecting the trade and duties on salt, and against lord Clive and Mr. Verelst seperately, to recover the company's demands respecting the commission on the revenues; that those bills had been perused and signed by the company's counsel, and that fair copies had been laid before Mr. Attorney-General, for his approbation before they were filed.

That a bill was now likewise before the company's counsel against a great number of persons for recovery of several large sums of money received by them under colour of the Mhatoote tax, which were to be filed with all possible expedition, as soon as it should have been approved of by the company's counsel, and Mr. Attorney-General; before whom that bill was also directed to be laid.

The committee examined several of the witnesses, who were best acquainted with Bengal, "Whether it was possible to bring natives from that country to England, to give their testimony in any prosecution or suits to be commenced here, for matters done on arising in Bengal; and were informed, by all the witnesses who spoke to this point, that though they knew no obstruction to the bringing over Mahometan witnesses, but the length and expences

pences of the voyage, they conſidered it as abſolutely impoſſible to bring over any witneſs of the Gentoo religion; it being one of the eſtabliſhed principles of that religion, that water is ſacred, and that to defile that aliment (which according to their notion is done by many unavoidable acts) is a profanation, for which any perſon ſo offending would forfeit his caſt; that if any Gentoo could be prevailed on to croſs the ſea, in order to come to England, they muſt neceſſarily be perſons deſtitute of thoſe principles, which they are taught by their profeſſion to revere, and therefore unworthy to receive credit as witneſſes.

In many caſes, which might be proper ſubjects of proſecution in this country, the teſtimony of Britiſh ſubjects, or other Europeans reſiding at Bengal may be neceſſary, and the difficulty and expence of bringing over thoſe or any witneſſes, ſeemed an almoſt unſurmountable obſtruction to the uſe and efficacy of the ſtatutes, allowing proſecutions in England for offences committed in India; and the ſame circumſtance equally obſtructs the attainment of juſtice by civil action of any nature, for any injury received or demand ariſing in that country.

The power exerciſed by the general court, of putting a ſtop to proſecutions ordered by the court of directors, may tend greatly to defeat the efficacy of the ſtatutes; as the perſon charged, eſpecially where he is or has been in any conſiderable ſtation in the company's ſervice, may have it in his power, by the management of his friends, to contrive at ſome time or other, by a majority of a general court

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to put a ſtop to the intended or depending proſecution.

In regard to the rate of intereſt allowed in the courts of that country, in caſes of mercantile debts, the rate was one per cent. per month, conſidered as the current intereſt of the country in mercantile tranſactions, amongſt men of probity and reputation; voluntary agreements for a much higher rate of intereſt are often made, even to three per cent. per month, where the occaſion has been urgent, and the loan for a ſhort time, and attended with riſk.

The uſual intereſt given by the company is nine per cent. per annum, by Europeans; in accounts with each other, ten per cent. and by the natives twelve per cent. the cutcherry did not allow beyond that rate. It was uſual for the Seats and other bankers at Murſhadabad to furniſh the zemindars when preſſed for money to pay their rents to government, at the rate of three per cent. per month. The rate of this intereſt is otherwiſe never given but in caſes of great emergency; however, that authorized by cuſtom having amounted to the moſt exorbitant uſury, the following rates are now eſtabliſhed to be received and paid, as well for paſt debts as on future loans of money, viz. on ſums not exceeding one hundred rupees principal, an intereſt of three rupees two annes per cent. per month, or half an anne in the rupee: on ſums above one hundred rupees principal, an intereſt of two rupees per cent. per month; the principal and intereſt to be diſcharged, according to the condition of the bond; and all compound intereſt, ariſing from an immediate adjuſtment of accounts, to

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be deemed unlawful and prohibited, when a debt is ſued for upon a bond, which ſhall be formed to ſpecify a higher intereſt than the eſtabliſhed rates the intereſt ſhall be wholly forfeited to the debtor, and the principal only recoverable, and all attempts to elude this law by deduction from the original loan, under whatever denomination, ſhall be puniſhed by a forfeiture of one moiety of the amount of the bond to the government, and the other half to the debtor.

The ſaid regulations point at ſuch extortions, that though the family of the Seats and others, have taken for money lent by them three and a half per cent. per month, obligations to pay five per cent. have been there exacted and the borrower compelled to agree to pay the ſame; becauſe, thoſe who had been accuſtomed to lend at a lower rate, now refuſed to ſupply them with money, alledging, that if they attempted to recover their loan from the zemindars, ſuch attempt would be fruſtrated by the power of the perſon lending at five per cent.

Even after an engagement to pay five per cent. the debtors have actually been obliged to pay fourteen per cent. which enormous abuſe is evidently inconſiſtent with the proſperity of the country, and highly detrimental to the revenue received by the company. Lord Clive during his preſidency never attempted to reform ſo many glaring abuſes, and moſt of his new regulations rather encouraged than diſcountenanced the ſyſtem of venality, corruption, uſury and oppreſſion which has of late years brought the company on the brink of ruin. The meaſures he had purſued with reſpect

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to the politics of the country, and his pretended diſcoveries of the infidelity, rapaciouſneſs and miſbehaviour of divers ſervants of the company, at the head of adminiſtration in the Bengal provinces, before his lordſhip's laſt preſidency, were only calculated to direct the company's attention by the retroſpect of paſt tranſactions, in order that himſelf and his committee might eſcape the blame and approach their preſent innovations juſtly deſerved. None of their plans promiſed ſtability for a peaceable poſſeſſion of the new acquiſitions.

They ſucceeded as far as to keep the directors in the dark, who approved his lordſhip's conduct, ſo as to think his preſence in Bengal eſſentially neceſſary, to accompliſh a thorough reformation, earneſtly requeſting that he would continue another ſeaſon in Bengal, to ſee the effect of his regulations; they looked upon the war with Sujah Dowlah ended conformable to their wiſhes; as they had been told the power of that Soubah was the ſtrongeſt barrier they could have, againſt the invaſions of the northern powers, and of the Marattas which had laid them ſo long deſolate, without conſidering that this faithleſs ally and ambitious neighbour would take the firſt favourable opportunity of re-aſſuming his former independency, by an alliance with the very people, the company were in dread of, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of his dominions, with a view to enlarge them. The meaſures of Mr. Vanſittartt and his council were animadverted upon as impolitic and injudicious: had the king been left in poſſeſſion of Sujah Dowlah's country, this acceſſion of power would have added weight to his friendſhip; and gratitude for the company's eminent ſervices

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in maintaining him in this new ſovereignty, would have attached him ſtrongly to their intereſt, without the apprehenſion of waging for the future a war at that immenſe diſtance, or its being brought down again to their frontiers; nothing could ſo effectually have reſtored the country to its former flouriſhing ſtate, and the reputation of the company, than reinſtating the Mogul to a ſtate, that would have enabled his majeſty to aſſiſt his benefactors, without having the power to hurt them; indeed Sujah Dowlah, the only Soubah in Indoſtan who is likely to inſpire him with hoſtile deſigns, to aggrandize himſelf by the ſupport he might afford him, has already ſhewn his reſtleſs ſpirit and aſpiring views, by embroiling the company with the chiefs of the Rohillas, againſt whom he joined lately his forces, tired himſelf of formidable neighbours. The revenue agreed by his lordſhip to be paid to the mogul, was not adequate to the reſpect he profeſſed for the royal blood, and was but a poor acknowledgment of his right. The princes of Indoſtan are not dupes of this pretended moderation and have been convinced ſince, that any breach of treaty will ever have the ſanction of their ſervants, as the commanders of their forces looked beyond the Bengal provinces for plunder and rapine; the article in the treaty with Sujah Dowlah is not confined ſolely to the company's trade, as ordered by the directors, who mean only to claim this privilege, if his dominions produced any goods fit for the European markets, or were made the means of extending their trade in the woollen manufacture, or any other European goods, this will produce new complaints and diſcontents.

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Ever ſince the company has obtained the dewannee, the barrier of the country government has been entirely broke down, and every Engliſhman throughout the country has been armed with an authority that owned no ſuperior amongſt the Indian powers, and exerciſed an intolerable tyranny and oppreſſion on the helpleſs natives, who know not whom to obey.

The ſyſtem of lord Clive and the gentlemen of the ſelect committe in depriving the Subah of a revenue of almoſt two millions ſterling, was to enrich his friends and dependants, with the treaſure and property of an injured and degraded prince, to leave him at their mercy, under pretence, that he had adopted principles detrimental to the company's intereſt.

Though the noble preſident and the ſelect committee had artfully ſuggeſted to the company, that Mr. Vanſittart and his council had been directly undermining the whole fabric, whilſt the company were ſinking under the burthen of the war, and their ſervants enriching themſelves from thoſe very funds that ought to have ſupported it; they are no principals in the advantages of it, but only liable to its charges and dangers in the province of Burdwan, the reſident and his council take the ſame annual ſtipend of 80,000 rupees per annum, from the Rajah in addition to the company's ſalary; this pernicious principle has been even carried further, even to the ſharing with the Rajah of all he collected beyond the ſtipulated land revenue, overlooking the company's right, to whom properly every thing belonged that was not neceſſary for the Rajah's ſupport. Thus the company's ſervants have endeavoured

voured to gloſs over the crime of their proceedings ſince the nabob's of Bengal have been reduced to a ſcanty penſion, and have been graſping the greateſt ſhare of the nabob's revenues, which was not alloted to the company.

To render their acquiſitions as permanent as human wiſdom could make them, required more juſtice and ſimplicity in the execution. The office and power of the king's dewan was to collect all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a ſufficient fund for the ſupport of the nizamut, to remit the remainder to Dehly; the principal ſervants appointed to ſuperintend this collection, have been guilty of the moſt notorious breach of truſt, in concealing the real value of the country, to cheat their employers. Their reſidents at the durbar have exerciſed that important office, to the manifeſt prejudice of the company, and to their own diſcredit, by ſuppoſed deficiencies in the payments of ſome particular province, rajah or zemindar, atteſted by theſe they employed in this collection.

The reſident at the Durbar being conſtantly on the ſpot, could not be long a ſtranger to the abuſes of government, and though he was armed with power to remedy them, he found his intereſt in countenancing the encroachments of rapacious agents, and the oppreſſion of the natives; ſince the office of reſident was become of ſo much importance, the noble preſident took upon himſelf to regulate it without controul.

How ignorant were the court of directors of India officers, during his lordſhip's preſidency, and how little apprehenſive they were of the pernicious

conſequences of the meaſures he had purſued, appears by complimenting the noble lord in one of their letters, on the penetration on which his lordſhip diſcerned the true intereſt of the company, in every branch; the rapidity with which he reſtored order, peace and tranquility, and the unbiaſſed integrity that had governed all his tranſactions. They congratulated him on being the happy inſtrument of ſuch extenſive bleſſings to the Bengal provinces, not foreſeeing that they ſhould when better informed lament their imprudence and folly, for having delegated all their civil and military power to a man whoſe tranſactions became afterwards the ſubject of parliamentary enquiry and animadverſion.

They ſaw the deplorable ſtate to which their affairs have been ſince reduced, from the corruption and avarice of his creatures and the univerſal depravity of manners, after their example, throughout the ſettlement. After his lordſhip's boaſted peace, great part of the company's capital was ſunk into uſeleſs and moſt extenſive eſtabliſhments; the funds that ought to have been deſtined for improveing their acquiſitions, were perverted to the baneful purpoſes of ſerving for the future corruption, tyranny, and the moſt iniquitous proceedings from due puniſhment. The laſting advantages that might have been obtained from a ſucceſsful war, were totally neglected; the king ſtill unable to maintain himſelf, may be driven back on the Bengal provinces, or if he was ſucceſsful through our aſſiſtance in a new war, the venality or ambition of the company's ſervants, may urge them on to march their forces with him to Dehly. The quick progreſs

greſs of private fortunes acquired by his friends and adherents, has alarmed the very ſenate, where they purchaſed ſeats with the ſpoils of injured and oppreſſed millions. The monopolies practiſed in the inland trade, exhibited ſuch ſcene of miſery as never was ſeen in India, or other country; and his lordſhip could not prevail with all his intereſt and eloquence on the directors, after the fatal experience they had of the enormous abuſes, committed in this trade, to approve it, even in the ſpecious plan laid down in the committee proceedings. His lordſhip having been requeſted by the court of directors and Mr. Vanſittart to deliver into their hands ſome papers relative to this gentleman's conduct, when preſident of Bengal, wrote the following letter to the court, dated Berkley-Square, 14th January, 1775.

Gentlemen,

"I conceived that my anſwer to your ſecretary's letter of the 1ſt inſtant, might have induced you to reflect, that if there were any materials in my poſſeſſion, which did not appear in the public proceedings of my government, they were unneceſſary, if not improper for public communication; but, I find that my letter inſtead of having ſuch effect, has almoſt produced a requiſition of ſome papers, which you have been informed, have been in my hands, containing proofs of Mr. Vanſittart's having received ſeven lacks of rupees for making the Mongheer treaty, and you have thought proper, thus to preſs this matter, I will not decline to acknowledge that I am poſſeſſed of ſome informations

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upon that ſubject; I muſt at the ſame time acquaint you, that I tranſmitted from Bengal, to Mr. Dudley, your chairman, for not entering into every public enquiry directed in your letters, by the Cambden; and now I encloſe a copy of ſuch part of my advices to him for your obſervation. I have to add, that upon my arrival in England, I communicated to your chairman, Mr. Rous, the informations alluded to. After ſuch proceedings on my part, I might have hoped, that if at any time theſe private materials become neceſſary to the court of directors, on grounds of public utility, the application for them would have been in a private requeſt from the chairman, with whom I have been moſt ready to co-operate, and whoſe repreſentation of a real neceſſity of producing the particulars, would have had weight with me. I will hope, that upon the conſideration of what I have now laid before you, no farther expoſition will be thought neceſſary from me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Clive."

His lordſhip, notwithſtanding the hatred he bore to Mr. Vanſittart, was afraid that ſuch a precedent might cauſe an inquiry into his own conduct; this was the reaſon of the moderation he affected to ſhew towards the man, whoſe adminiſtration he had ſo often vilified, as will be ſeen in the extract of a letter to George Dudley, Eſq; dated Calcutta 8th September 1766. "After having explained myſelf ſo fully upon this ſubject, give me leave to expoſtulate

late with you as chairman, in that friendly manner, and on that intimate footing which I would always wiſh to be with the preſent court of directors. After a general court of proprietors had repoſed ſo much confidence in me, and that confidence was ſo ſtrongly confirmed by a letter which I received from the court of directors; where was the neceſſity of pointing out to me ſo many diſagreeable and odious enquiries? Could not the directors have poſtponed their ſentiments until they had ſeen in what manner I had conducted myſelf; could a court of directors, for whom I had ſo high an eſteem, imagine that I would leave ought undone or uninquired into, that would tend to their honour, or the advantage of the company? certainly I would not; my own reputation was too much at ſtake, to admit a thought to the contrary.

You may be aſſured, it gives me pain to be reduced to the neceſſity of declining obedience to any of your orders; but retroſpection into actions which have been buried in oblivion for ſo many years, which if enquired into, may produce diſcoveries which cannot bear the light; which can be no advantage to the company, but may bring diſgrace into the nation; and at the ſame time blaſt the reputation of great and good families, who will ſuffer for the iniquity of individuals; want only to occaſion ſo much uneaſineſs is what I cannot reconcile to thoſe principles of humanity by which I have always been actuated; neither do I think it ſound policy to inquire into the proceedings of that committee, which placed Coſſim Ally Kawn upon the Muſnud: the bad actions of ſervants frequently reflect diſhonour upon their maſ-

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maſters. The preſent flouriſhing condition of our Eaſt-India company cannot but occaſion much national jealouſy; and proceedings of ſuch a nature, made public, might occaſion a parliamentary enquiry, and that enquiries might extend to the India-houſe itſelf: upon reflection, I am perſuaded the directors will approve of my conduct, in diſcouraging the examination, in the manner pointed out in their general letter of lord Cambden."

The following letter is in conſequence of the repeated requiſition of the court of directors on the ſame ſubject.

Pezenas, 20th *April*, 1768.

Gentlemen,

"I have received another letter from your ſecretary, demanding a ſecond time, ſome papers relative to Mr. Vanſittart's conduct in Bengal. Although I ſtill perſevere in thinking you have no manner of right to require the papers from me; yet as Mr. Vanſittart himſelf ſeems deſirous, by this letter to me, (copy of which he has incloſed to you) that theſe papers ſhould be ſent, I have given my attornies inſtructions accordingly to deliver them into your hands, to be uſed as to you in your diſcretion ſhall ſeem meet, if he ſtill perſiſts in the ſame way of thinking.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Clive."

Paris,

Paris, 19th June, 1768.

Gentlemen,

" In conformity with Mr. Vanſittart's requeſt, dated the 13th inſtant, and received by the laſt poſt, I tranſmit to you the depoſitions of Bullachidaſs, and Shey Hey Dayat Alla, with reſpect to that gentleman. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) John Walſh."

Shey Hey Dayat Alla depoſeth,

" That in the year 1762, in the month of December, when Mr. Henry Vanſittart, accompanied by ſeveral other gentlemen, waited on the nabob Coſſim Ally Kawn at Mongheer; he then acted in the office of treaſurer under his excellency; and that in purſuance of the nabob's commands, he iſſued the ſum of two lacks at four or five different payments, for Mr. Vanſittart: and that two ladies who were in company with the governor, went into the zenara, and received jewels."

This being a faithful tranſlation from the Perſian original, is atteſted this 18th day of January, by me,

W. H. Coru, ſworn tranſlator.

H. Verelſt.

The depoſition of Bollaakidaſs, banker.

" In the year 1762, in the month of December, Mr. Henry Vanſittart arrived at Mongheer, and had an interview with the nabob Coſſim Ally Kawn: I was employed in negociating bills for the

the ſaid nabob, one or two days before the departure of Mr. Vanſittart for Azimabad; his excellency retiring with me in a private apartment, ſignified to me his pleaſure, that I ſhould tranſmit the ſum of five lacks of rupees to Mr. Henry Vanſittart, in Calcutta; in conſequence of theſe his excellency's inſtructions, I wrote an order to my gomaſtah in the factory of Hughly, to pay the aforeſaid amount into the hands of Mr. Vanſittart; afterwards, on the return of this gentleman to Calcutta, the gomaſtah cauſed the money aforeſaid to be delivered to him, and gave me information thereof, which I made report of to his excellency the nabob. The ſtrict truth of this tranſaction I have faithfully related, written this firſt day of January, in the eight year of his Majeſty's auſpicious reign."

The above being a faithful tranſlation from the Perſian original, as atteſted this 18th day of January, 1767, by me,

W. H. Coke, ſworn tranſlator.

The hand writing of Ballaakidaſs, Calcutta the 19th of January, 1767, ſworn before me,

H. Verelſt.

This requiſition from the court of directors obliged Mr. Vanſittart to write to them the following letter, dated London, 15th September, 1768.

Honourable Sirs,

"I have received from your ſecretary the copies of two papers, delivered to the court by lord Clive;

Clive, one being a declaration of Boolaakidaſs; ſetting forth that a day or two before I took leave of Meer Coſſim, at Mongheer, he received orders to pay me five lacks of rupees; the other an information of Sheik Hedagat Calla, importing, that he has the ſame order, paid me two lacks of rupees; and that the ladies who were with me viſited the nabob's ladies and received a preſent of jewels

Nobody is better acquainted with the cuſtoms of that country than lord Clive, who has brought theſe informations before the court. I appeal to his own candour, whether upon a viſit of this ſort, preſents are not cuſtomary, and in a manner indiſpenſible.

But I do not mean to recriminate upon his lordſhip; much leſs upon any ladies, who had the honour of being in company with him on ſuch occaſions. I ſhall content myſelf with defending my own character; and ſhall expoſe to you very fairly, the principles upon which I acted at all times in your ſervice.

From the earlieſt date of the company's ſettlements, preſents from the people of the country made a part of the benefit of your governments; and this advantage were uſed in proportion to the extent of your connections, until by a freſh covenant, in the year 1765, you thought fit to put a ſtop to it.

In ſuch circumſtances, I hope ſome praiſe is due to thoſe ſervants who made the moſt moderate uſe of the opportunities, their ſituation preſented to them; who preferred always the company's intereſt to their private emolument; who never di-

rectly nor indirectly ſought for preſents; but on the contrary, refuſed as ſuch as could in any manner affect or retard payments due to the company, or lay the perſon offering it under any diſtreſs or inconvenience.

Let lord Clive ſay, if any inhabitant of Bengal has a complaint to make againſt me upon this head, or indeed upon any other: as to Boolaakidaſs, and Sheik Hedagat Calla, whoſe name appear to the informations laid before you, by his lordſhip, it will be ſeen, that the former complains only of the authority by which he was forced to give that information; and as to the latter, I do not even recollect his name; nor did I to my knowledge, ever tranſact any buſineſs with him. All Meer Coſſim's payments were made, either by Boolaakidaſs, Caja Petras, or the Roy Royan, or in aſſignments payable to the chiefs at Patna and Coſſim Bazar.

In theſe different ways, I received all that was due to the company; I received likewiſe ſeveral ſums upon account of lord Clive, and other gentlemen, for the remaining part of a preſent ſtipulated in the year 1757, and upon various other accounts; but I do not remember that Sheik Hedagat Calla, was employed upon any of theſe occaſions. Soon after Boolaakidaſs had given to lord Clive the writing which he has laid before the court, he wrote me a letter to acquaint me, that in compliance with his lordſhip's commands, he had ſigned a paper of which he ſent me a copy.

Herewith I have tranſmitted the original letter, and a tranſlation; and can only lament, that, at a time

a time when the degrees of cenſure and of praiſe were meaſured upon the ſcale of his lordſhip's good pleaſure, it was my misfortune to have him take ſo determined a part againſt me.

But ſuppoſing for a moment, that the informations were true to their full extent; which however I do not admit, what do they import? that the chief of the country having fulfilled all his engagements with the company, paid off the arrears of his predeceſſor's troops, and brought his finances into good order, made preſents of money and jewels to his friends in the cuſtomary manner.

But it ſeems, by your letter to lord Clive, of the 6th January laſt, that his lordſhip had repreſented the preſents alluded to in the informations in queſtion, as a conſideration given by Meer Coſſim, for the treaty of Mongheer. If the regulations contained in that treaty had been aſked or propoſed by Meer Coſſim, or had conveyed any benefit or advantage to his government, there might have been ſome ſhew of reaſon for his lordſhip's unfriendly conſtruction, but when it is ſeen that the object of thoſe regulations was to give the Engliſh traders a decided right to partake in the inland trade upon the moſt moderate terms, a duty of nine per cent. upon a trade which the company have ſince rated at forty per cent. and that Meer Coſſim conſented only, as he declares in many letters, for the ſake of preſerving good harmony with the Engliſh; when both the parties concerned in the treaty, regarded it as an acquiſition to the Engliſh traders, and a conceſſion on the part of the nabob; in ſuch a caſe, for what

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ſhould he give a conſideration? ſhall he who gives up his pretenſions, give money likewiſe to induce the other party to accept his reſignation? ſuch a ſuppoſition is ſo contrary to reaſon, that the attempt to propagate it could proceed only from the moſt ungenerous deſign to prejudice you in your opinion; but, I flatter myſelf without effect: for you are ſo far from regarding the articles propoſed at Mongheer, as a regulation in favour of the nabob, that you call it "a treaty exacted by force to obtain a ſanction for a trade to enrich ourſelves," the nabob could be little inclined to give preſents for ſuch a conſideration, it might rather have induced him to omit the uſual civilities.

I have never endeavoured, gentlemen, to make you, or the world believe, that I paſſed through the government of Bengal, without receiving preſents, at a time when there was no law againſt it, and ſo many great examples for it; but this I have ſaid, and with the ſtricteſt truth, that I never received one that could prejudice the company, or diſtreſs the country, or put back even for a day, any public or private payments depending for others. Whenever any thing of this ſort interfered, and in ſhort, when ever the leaſt objection could ariſe, I conſtantly refuſed all preſents; and refuſed them abſolutely and without reſervation. It is well known, that upon this principle I rejected all Meer Coſſim's offers as preſents in the firſt part of his government. You have an inſtance of this in the conſultations from Bengal, January 1761; which though the ſum in queſtion was not very large, may ſtill ſerve to ſhew, that I had a certain rule of conduct, in which I perſevered invariably; I might otherwiſe have been tempted

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by the offer which Meer Jaffier preſſed on me, by means of Nundcoomer, and Juggat Chund, juſt before I left Bengal.

They told me, that Meer Jaffier inſiſted on my receiving a preſent of five lacks for the charges of my voyage. I was not then reſtrained by any orders at covenants; but the ſtate of the nabob's circumſtances was ſufficient in my opinion, to forbid it; and accordingly my anſwer was, "That being ſenſible of the many engagements he had to fulfil, I would by no means add to his diſtreſs." This fact is mentioned by Juggut Chund in his examination, which is before the court, and partly alſo by Nobkiſſon, who, as he knew ſuch an offer was made me, muſt alſo have known the reſult, although he choſes to be as ſhort as poſſible upon it.

Here, gentlemen, I ſhall leave the matter to your candid and impartial conſideration, perſuaded that the more you examine my conduct, the more you will be convinced, that the love of money was never my ruling paſſion: if it had, my opportunities were many, and I could have gratified it to as great an extent as any of my predeceſſors. I ſpeak this without envy or reſentment; but I really think, his lordſhip might have ſpared his reproaches upon this ſcore.

I am with reſpect,

Honourable ſirs,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

Henry Vanſittart.

Letter from Boolaakidaſs to Mr. Vanſittart, dated the 20th of Shawbaun, in the eighth year of the reign.

"You are well acquainted with my ſituation: lately lord Clive ſent for me, and ſaid, "The nabob Coſſim Ally Kawn gave Mr. Vanſittart five lacks of rupees through your hands, is it not true?" I anſwered, "It is true, but in that amount was a bill for the expences of Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, and there was likewiſe included the price of the jewels, depoſited by the nabob Jaffier Ally Kawn. This was the ſtate of the matter. Lord Clive then ſaid, "Write, and give me a declaration under your hand of five lacks of rupees." Being without remedy, I wrote it conformable to his order, and gave it him; and I have ſent you here with an excellent copy of it for your peruſal; as you are my only friend and protector, I thought fit to acquaint you with the matter."

Had my lord Clive eſtabliſhed a general peace, and affected a cordial and laſting friendſhip with the country powers, he might indeed have juſtly boaſted of the important ſervices he had done to the company, during his laſt memorable preſidency. The court of directors were highly blameable for giving his lordſhip carta-blanche, as appears by their own letters, in which they ſaid expreſsly, they apprehended any particular inſtructions to the noble preſident would be unneceſſary. They were perfectly happy in the aſſurances, that his lordſhip's perfect acquaintance with, and zeal for the company's intereſt, would enable him to fulfill

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their moſt ſanguine wiſhes. He had been empowered to ſtipulate ſuch conditions, and to form ſuch connections with the country powers, and to purſue ſuch means as he ſhould think proper.

His lordſhip, far from exerting his utmoſt endeavours to conciliate the affection of the country powers, and to remove the jealouſy they had conceived of the company's agrandizement, made a temporary ceſſation of arms, whilſt the ſeeds of future wars remain, as the company has ſince begun hoſtilities to maintain their influence by force of arms, ſo deſtructive of that commercial ſpirit which they ought to promote. The event has proved, that it was not ſo much the ſecurity in carrying on a free trade, beneficial to them and the natives, that they aimed at, than conqueſt and dominion: inſtead of being moderate and equitable in their demands, they have ſhewn lately by the infraction of their treaties, that they are yet deſirous to enlarge their territorial poſſeſſions. Sujah Dowlah was reinſtated in his dominions, with ſuch limitations as his high ſpirit can never brook, and imply a ſuſpicion of his ſincerity. By annexing ſuch contiguous lands and diſtricts as were found neceſſary to the convenience and ſupport of the ſettlements, lord Clive gave the vizier a juſt cauſe to future contentions, as he would no doubt, think himſelf oppreſſed by that military power, which was to protect the company's commerce. Sujah Dowlah could not ſurrender Coſſim Ally, Sombre, and the deſerters, or put them to death, without deeply affecting his own honour; and this point his lordſhip was obliged to give up, as it could not be affected without violence to the nabob's inclinations.

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No proviſion was made for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and dignity. In fact, all his meaſures tended to lay the foundation of freſh diſcontents. It was not to be ſuppoſed that he would more ſtrictly adhere to the laws preſcribed by honour and juſtice, than the conquerors, though he might for a time diſſemble, according to the dictates of good policy. Sparks of reſentment lie concealed in his breaſt, ready to be kindled into a flame, by the firſt guſt of paſſion or ambition.

Mr. Sykes being appointed reſident at the durbar, it was recommended to him to ſupport there, with all the influence of the committee, the new regulations they had made for the adminiſtration of the government. Doolubram had objected to that balance of power, and partition of authority, which they had judged neceſſary to the ſecurity of the preſent eſtabliſhment; he claimed to himſelf the right of nominating the officers of the collections. They kept therefore a watchful eye over this miniſter, and attempted to check his aſpiring views, threatening him with their diſpleaſure, in excluding him from the proportion of power he enjoyed.

It was not ſurpriſing that the condition of the treaſury was low as repreſented, ſince the company's ſervants rapaciouſneſs and avarice, might have exhauſted the mines of Potoſi.

Mr. Sykes was ſtrongly recommended to the court of directors for having exerted his utmoſt diligence in procuring an exact eſtimate of the amount of the revenues of the nabob's dominions, of which the company were become proprietors; but the books of the ſircar were ſo much behind,

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ſo many balances were out-ſtanding, and ſuch negligence appeared in the collection of the revenues for ſome years paſt, owing to the conſtant diſturbances and frequent revolutions in the country, which prevented any regular connections from being made; that nothing on this ſubject could be ſtated with preciſion and certainty. Notwithſtanding the acquiſition of the dewannee and the agreement with the nabob, was to turn out a prodigious encreaſe of the company's revenue; this had a contrary effect.

The noble preſident and his committee peremptorily refuſed to pay the donation of the nabob to the navy, under pretence, that it was not conſiſtent with their late engagements with him to take upon them to pay ſo large a demand out of the company's revenues, or to inſiſt on the nabob's paying it out of his limited ſtipend. This was a deſpicable ſhift; moreover they diſputed the validity of this donation as involuntary, and obtained from Meer Jaffier, by dint of ſolicitations, and other means which never had his entire approbation. It was a capital fault in the noble preſident and his committee, to precipitate the concluſion of a treaty with Sujah Dowlah, as they loſt the moſt glorious opportunity that could ever happen, of ſettling matters upon that ſolid and advantageous footing for the company, which no temporary invaſion could endanger. They thought the only ſecurity for their commerce and territorial poſſeſſions, was to overawe the very nabob they were bound by treaty to ſupport; from that fundamental error, which created new jealouſies and diſcontents amongſt the country powers, and European nations, have ſprung

the innumerable evils which have brought the company to its preſent precarious and unſettled ſtate.

The committee appointed by the houſe of commons found, that an alteration was attempted to be made upon the ancient eſtabliſhment of duties, by the regulations which were ſettled between Coſſim Ally Kawn and Mr. Vanſittart, at Mongheer; whereby it was ſtipulated, that the company's ſervants ſhould in time to come pay nine per cent. on the Rowana price of ſalt: but this treaty having been rejected by the council, as having been concluded without ſufficient authority on the part of Mr. Vanſittart; and alſo as ſubjecting the Engliſh and their ſervants, upon all diſputes, to the juriſdiction of the nabob's officers, the old regulations as to duties were continued, and the Engliſh, by the treaty made with Meer Jaffier, were placed upon a footing with the moſt favoured amongſt the natives; viz. to pay the duties of two and half per cent. on ſalt.

The court of directors ordered, that a final and effectual end ſhould be forthwith put to the inland trade in ſalt, beetle nut and tobacco, and in all other articles whatſoever produced and conſumed in the country; and that all European and other agents, who had been concerned in ſuch trade, ſhould be immediately ordered down to Calcutta, and not ſuffered to return or be replaced as ſuch by any other perſon. The Engliſh began to trade in ſalt the end of the year 1757, and it ſoon became general. The ſalt ſociety, which afterwards took place had been originally propoſed at ſea by lord Clive, during his paſſage to India. In the beginning of June 1765, a few days after the arrival of Mr.

Mr. Verelſt from Chittagong, a private partnerſhip was formed, in the names of lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelſt and Mr. Sykes, for purchaſing large quantities of ſalt, then in the hands of private merchants. Mr. Verelſt having declined to anſwer a queſtion put to him upon that ſubject, the committee were prevented ſtating the extent of this tranſaction ſo fully as they might otherwiſe have done. Mr. Verelſt alledged for his refuſal, that the court of directors had theatened him with a proſecution upon ſalt concerns. On his return from Chittagong to Calcutta, he made ſome purchaſes of ſalt, of the produce of ſome former years, from ſeveral European gentlemen, and ſome few Armenian and black merchants. At the time he was making theſe purchaſes, on his own account, lord Clive mentioned to him a deſire of forming ſome proviſion for the gentlemen he had brought out with him, and aſked his opinion in what manner it could be done; Mr. Verelſt, told his lordſhip he knew of no advantage but what reſulted from trade; he mentioned the purchaſes he had made, adding, he could extend them, if his lordſhip thought proper; the purchaſes were accordingly extended with his aſſent, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes taking a part of the concern; this partnerſhip was formed about the beginning of June following, in the names of lord Clive, Meſſrs. Sumner, Sykes and Verelſt, each one quarter part; and all the purchaſes on account of the partnerſhip were made in the month of June; lord Clive advanced his proportion, and pretended not to be concerned on his own account; but merely for the advantage of the three gentlemen, his lordſhip

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brought out with him. Salt purchaſed before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety of trade, was not liable to any duty except 2 ½ per cent, to the country government; it paid none to the company.

The largeſt quantity was purchaſed by Mr. Johnſtone. The gentlemen whom Lord Clive declared, he intended to benefit by this monopoly, were Mr. Strachey, Mr. Maſkelyne, and Mr. Ingham, the ſurgeon, who had accompanied him to India. His lordſhip afterwards remonſtrated with the court of directors, againſt the opening of the ſalt trade, and taking only a duty of ten rupees per hundred maunds. They ordered, that the duty ſhould be ſo fixed as to produce a revenue of 100,000 l. at leaſt, and not to exceed 120,000 l. and in conſideration of having confined the trade of their ſervants to articles of import and export, they ordered a commiſſion of 2 ½ per cent. on the neat territorial revenues to be diſtributed amongſt their principal ſervants in the proportions therein named. After the prohibitions of the inland trade in ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco, the court of directors laid open the ſaid trade to all perſons, as well Europeans as natives.

The grounds upon which the ſociety of trade was eſtabliſhed, opened the wideſt field for oppreſſion and rapaciouſneſs: it proved a new ſource of clamours and diſcontents; as the natives were cruelly ſacrificed to the intereſted views of a few individuals, this monopoly was held in the moſt odious light, as a moſt intolerable grievance.

The article of ſalt, prior to 1756, was farmed at from 25 to 35,000 l. per annum; the revolution

tion in 1756, extended the views of the company's ſervants to advantages beyond what they had hitherto derived from a trade confined to imports and exports; and from that period they began to participate in the benefit of an inland commerce, and ſome, even in thoſe early days of the company's influence, entertained hopes, of a right founded upon their phirmaunds, to an exemption of duties upon ſalt. It was not, however, till after Meer Coſſim's acceſſion in 1760, that ſuch claim was publickly avowed; then it was that the company acquired poſſeſſion of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, on which, and the company's Calcutta lands, near two-thirds of the whole quantity of ſalt for the conſumption of Bengal is manufactured. By poſſeſſing theſe countries, the Engliſh conſidered themſelves now the proprietors, and became the principal dealers in that article; ſome were content with the profit ariſing from ſalt in Calcutta, whilſt others launched out farther to ſeek the profits through the country. The magnitude of this branch of trade, and the manner in which it was now carried on, became the ſubject of conteſt and diſpute between Meer Coſſim and the preſidency of Bengal.

On Meer Jaffier's re-inſtatement to the government in 1763, the Engliſh influence with reſpect to the manufacture of ſalt, by the poſſeſſion of thoſe countries, continued in full force; and our unconteſted right to trade in ſalt on paying 2 ½ per cent. duty, was firſt eſtabliſhed; the natives being ſtill ſubject to a duty of 7 per cent. How far this diſtinction was injurious to the natives, is eaſy to conceive: the proprietors of the India ſtock,

as well as the directors, conſidered it as a grant too partial in itſelf, and which they apprehended might involve the company in freſh diſputes with the country government. Lord Clive being appointed preſident of Bengal, in 1764, the inland trade was then conſidered by, I believe, almoſt every proprietor, as one of the great ſources of contention with the country government. It therefore became the ſubject of ſerious debate at repeated general courts; by ſome it was recommended to reſtrain the ſervants as formerly to the uſual articles of import and export; others foreſaw the difficulties of inducing men under the circumſtances of power and influence, quietly to relinquiſh advantages they had long enjoyed, unleſs ſome adequate equivalent was propoſed. Several perſons propoſed the following motion: "That it be recommended to the court of directors, to give inſtructions to the preſidency of Bengal, to ſettle ſuch regulations in carrying on the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, as ſhall prove moſt advantageous to this company, without prejudicing the juſt rights of the nabob of the provinces, and oppreſſing the natives; and that ſuch regulations be tranſmitted home to the court of directors by the firſt opportunity, with every information which can enable them to determine on ſo important a ſubject.

This notion implied a total ſuſpenſion of at leaſt two years of any regulations; the forming a plan in Bengal, which ſhould be tranſmitted to England for the approbation of the court of directors before it was adopted, would have left this important branch of trade open ſo long; and it was evident, ſuch delay would neceſſarily hazard further diſ-

diſputes with the country government, which it was the earneſt deſire of the court wholly to remove. The motion was oppoſed from a full conviction of the bad tendency of delaying the propoſed regulations; it was in conſequence withdrawn, and the general court came to the following reſolution.

"That it be recommended to the court of directors to reconſider the orders ſent to Bengal, relative to the trade of the company's ſervants in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco; and that they do give ſuch directions for regulating the ſame, agreeably to the intereſt of the company and the ſubah, as to them may appear moſt prudent; either by ſettling here at home the reſtrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the governor and council of Fort William, to regulate this important point in ſuch a manner, as may prevent all future diſputes between the ſubah and the company." By this reſolution the directors expreſsly declared their inability to form a plan, deſtitute as they were of the neceſſary lights and informations. The ſervants, acted as if the court of directors had delegated to them an authority without controul; ſelf intereſt influenced the whole conduct of the ſelect committee, as all their new inſtitutions were calculated to bring advantages to themſelves.

With reſpect to the plan adopted for the firſt year, for carrying on their joint trade, the natives were precluded from the contracts for the purchaſe of ſalt, ſo that the committee ſought the ultimate profits either in the purchaſe, or the ſale. Thus ſalt was brought at an advanced price to the hands

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of the conſumer, and to benefit the noble preſident and his friends. The quantity of ſalt made in Bengal, is ſcarcely equal to the conſumption. It is imported from the coaſt of Coromandel and from Perſia; the quantities in general but ſmall, and that from Perſia principally uſed medicinally.

The ground duty upon the making of ſalt all over Bengal and Arixa, was always extremely inconſiderable before the eſtabliſhment of the regulations made by the various committees of the Engliſh council at Calcutta; in ſo much, that a ſalt merchant making his ſalt at firſt hand in a great part of the ſalt countries, could have made, tranſported, and landed his ſalt in Calcutta, within the expence of twenty-five rupees per hundred maund. Before the eſtabliſhment of this excluſive ſociety, eſtabliſhed by lord Clive, Calcutta had ſo far become a general repoſitory, and mart for ſalt that it was from thence tranſported to every part of the country, even to Luckypora and other places, much nearer to the ſalt grounds than Calcutta.

Lord Clive, in a letter to the court of directors, thinks himſelf entitled to their approbation, and congratulates himſelf on the ſucceſs of his plan in relation to the important article of ſalt trade. The only doubt, ſaid he, that aroſe with me was, whether the management of the trade of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, ſhould be entruſted to Europeans, or to natives; and although I acquieſced with the reſt of the members of the ſecret committee, in having it carried on by the free-merchants, give me leave to aſſure you, my acquieſcence proceeded rather from a principle of humanity than a conviction, that it was more for the intereſt

intereſt of the ſociety. But as every day's experience demonſtrates the impropriety of the preſent mode, it becomes my duty to explain to you my ſentiments on that ſubject.

The original capital for carrying on this trade being twenty-four lack, which is ſpeedily to be increaſed to thirty-two, and the ſalt being to be diſpoſed of at ſo many different and diſtant parts of the country, gives me room for boundleſs expence; an aſtoniſhing number of boats muſt be provided, and kept in conſtant repair, and armies of ſeapoys muſt be maintained to protect them, as well as the agents at the ſeveral places of reſidence. Theſe ſeapoys under the ſanction of their maſter's names, will lay the whole country under contribution wherever they go; remonſtrances and complaints without number, will be made by the country government, and the revenues in which you are more immediately affected, will fall ſhort: theſe agents, beſides drawing five per cent. upon the net ſales, will build elegant houſes for their convenience, and I verily believe, that 150,000l. will ſcarcely defray the extraordinary, and in my opinion, uſeleſs expence, by confining the ſale of ſalt to Calcutta, Decca, and two or three other principal places where the ſalt is produced; all theſe inconveniencies will be remedied; the company will receive as much, as well as the proprietors do upon the preſent plan; the immoderate charges of agents, boatmen, houſes, boats, and ſeapoys, will be ſaved; the capital need be but half of what it is now, and conſequently the intereſt of a large ſum of money will not be laviſhed. But what weighs more with me than all the arguments hitherto advanced is,

that we ſhall avoid the odious imputation of monopoly: thouſands of the natives will have profits out of this article, by purchaſing it at two or three places only, and diſpoſing of it afterwards all over the country: for we propoſe that no European whatever ſhall have any further concern in it, &c.

Copy of the Imperial Mandate.

To all governors, officers and managers of our affairs, &c. in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar Orixa, Hugley, &c.

"In conſequence of a decree of his moſt ſacred and imperial majeſty Shah, deceaſed, and former grants, the Engliſh company are exempted from all cuſtoms in all parts of our dominions, except the port of Surat, pay annually into the imperial treaſury at Hughley 3000 rupees, as a tribute in lieu of cuſtoms, and hope that according to former grants, our royal mandate will be vouchſafed to them.

Our abſolute and high command is paſſed, that you knowing well whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring into, or carry out from the ports, borders and quarters of thoſe provinces, either by land or by water, be exempt from duties, ſhall leave them to buy and ſell at their free liberty, ſhall annually receive the eſtabliſhed tribute, and upon no other account impede or interrupt them. Moreover, if any where the leaſt article of their effects ſhall be made away with, you are to uſe all diligence in the recovery thereof; and ſhall deliver over the thieves to condign puniſh-

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ment, and the goods to the proper owner: for then whereſoever they may ſet up a factory, and buy and ſell goods and merchandize, you are to afford them help and ſupport in all matters of contract, and with all juſtice and fairneſs, cauſe to be repaid unto their agents whatever demands they may have upon any merchant, weaver, or any other perſon; and you are to allow no one to moleſt their agents; or ſhall you ſtop boats hired by them, or of their own property, for lett or any other account whatever."

They alſo repreſented to our moſt ſacred and excellent majeſty as follows:

"In our provinces the petty officers inſiſted upon the original grant and atteſtation under ſeal of the Nadthim and Dewan of the province; but tranſmitting the original grant into all parts being difficult, they hope that, accordingly credit may be given to copies under ſeal of a magiſtrate, and the original grant not be demanded, nor they interrupted for want of an atteſtation from the Nazim and Dewan.

Moreover, that in Calcutta the company have a factory: that the right of holding Calcutta, Satalute, Gobindpoor, &c. which they bought of the zemindars, have been a long time made over to them; that they pay annually, as a tax for it 1195 rupees, ſix annas; alſo, that there are thirty three villages at the taxation of 8121 rupees, eight annals, pertaining to the ſaid diſtricts; they intreat that the right of holding the ſaid diſtricts be granted to them, the tax for which they pay annually into the royal treaſury."

They farther entreat as follows:

From the reign of his moſt bounteous majeſty, Shah, deceaſed, in the provincial treaſuries, an exchange

change has been taken on their money coined at Cheanapatan; now seeing that the silver of their said money is of equal fineness with that of Surat, they our subjects though petitioners, suffer alas, and humbly beg that our imperial order may be passed, that they be not molested on account of the valye of their coin, equal in goodness to that of Surat and other places.

Moreover, that if any of the company's servants indebted to them, should make their escape from any of their settlements, they may be sent back to the chief of their factory: also that they be not interrupted on account of the duties, or any other practices, from which the company's agents and officers may suffer inconveniency."

An order from the most high and authoritative court has been passed to the following effect, from the 5th year of this blessed reign, of the silver coined at Cheanapatan shall in fineness be like unto the coin of the royal harbour of Surat, there shall be no discount required on the exchange.

They have also represented, that in Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, the company have factories, and being desirous of creating factories in other places, humbly beg, that wheresoever they may set up a factory, forty legahs of ground will be granted to them, from the lands of the empire; moreover their vessels at sundry times, through storms of wind, are forced on shore on our ports, and are stranded, the governors of the ports injuriously make prize of the cargo, and in divers places insist upon a fourth part of it; farther in the island of Bombay belonging to the English, the European coin is current, and may be struck into siccas

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as at Cheanapatan. Ye are to protect theſe people, who hold factories in all parts of the empire, and extend their traffic even into the imperial camp, with their effects and veſſels ſtranded or damaged, and ſupply them with all things neceſſary.

In the iſland of Bombay ſiccas ſhall be ſtruck, and be current in like manner as the ſiccas in other parts of the kingdom of equal fineneſs with the coin current in our happy realms, ſhall paſs for equal value.

The company have of late years complained of the real grievances and clogs to the fair trader; theſe removed, every merchant would chearfully ſubmit to the moderate duties they had directed to be levied. The hardſhips they meant, were the groſs and iniquitous abuſes that ſprung from the power of duſtucks, they being confined to their covenant ſervants, trade had been ſubjected to very heavy impoſitions; the chiefs at ſubordinates, gained full twenty per cent. upon the goods they provided the private trader, and often excluſive of commiſſion: ſo that the merchant carried his goods to market at an advance, perhaps of 25 per cent. upon their value in Bengal: the black merchants applied to the junior ſervants, and for valuable conſiderations received their goods covered with their names: even a writer trades in this manner for many thouſands, when at the ſame time he has no real credit for a hundred rupees: for the truth of theſe aſſertions (ſaid the directors) we need only appeal to yourſelves; this is the ſtream whence have flown numberleſs miſchiefs, perhaps the capital cauſe of your late dreadful misfortunes: to fetter trade is contrary to all good policy, and we believe

believe Calcutta is the only colony where manufactories are locked up from the merchant; we therefore will have a reform in this important branch if the abuſes is evident; the expence of that firmaunt privilege for commerce is ruined by thoſe unfair practices; the merchant can bear no more, and fearful to ſpeak out, demurs to our juſt duties, and aſcribes his inability to remote cauſes, the government annually defrauded of immenſe duties, and even their ſubjects property covered by the company's name, muſt ever look upon us as a vile, faithleſs people, ſtrangers to honour and gratitude: ſuch are the conſequences of the abuſes of a privilege obtained at a very heavy expence, for our particular advantage. In the regulating of this branch, we wiſh to maintain a reſpectable character, ſecure the government from being injured, and preſerve to the fair trader ſuch freedom and benefits as are common to all our other ſettlements, and which he certainly has a right to. It is not in our power to obviate all difficulties, we only point out the remedy to fix trade upon an equitable baſis. Perhaps the nabob may find it his intereſt to ſettle for a certain annual ſum upon the general trade, which will be forming the commercial duties deſcendant upon Calcutta. This ſcheme muſt, we apprehend, anſwer every good purpoſe; it removes all cauſes of contention with the government; duſtucks will be aboliſhed, the merchant will gladly employ, and chearfully allow our ſervants a reaſonable commiſſion, and intereſt for the proviſion of his goods; but if more than five per cent. commiſſion is charged, upon complaint he is to be redreſſed, and the company will be reimburſed the

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annual ſum they may pay for forming the general duties, by an additional import of two or more per cent. on the goods brought down by Europeans, and a larger duty on what may be imported by the Indians; and if the amount ſhould exceed the annual ſum ſtipulated with the nabob, we are willing to add the ſurplus to our preſident's ſmall emoluments: if this plan ſhould take place, let us view the trader's ſituation; he is relieved from the preſent exaction, from twenty to twenty-five per cent. He will pay five per cent. commiſſion on his goods, two per cent. to the duties formed, and four per cent. cuſtoms; and he will therefore export his goods from nine to fourteen per cent. advantage. If you can form a better ſcheme adopt it; but remember at all events we ſhall expect the duſtucks are put upon ſuch a juſt footing, as to ſecure the government their duties, and enable the merchant to pay our cuſtoms.

The company's ſervants in anſwer to this plan ſaid, "That the directors had not been ſufficiently informed; that is, continually met with, at moſt of the ſubordinate ſettlements and aurungs, in procuring a ſufficiency of cloaths for the company's inveſtment; they alledged the abſolute impoſſibility ever to fulfil their orders, as the gentlemen in the ſervice are forbid to make any purchaſes for themſelves, until the quantity required for the company is ſecured; the gentlemen at Calcutta are not permitted to ſend Gomaſtahs to purchaſe at the aurung's dependent on any of the ſubordinates, nor the gentlemen of any ſubordinate to make purchaſes at another. It is the ſame with the out aurungs, dependant on Calcutta; none of the gentlemen

tlemen in the company's ſervice are permitted to ſend Gomaſtah's to any place where there is one purchaſing goods for the company, without giving notice to the committee of aurungs, and getting a letter from them to the company's gomaſtah; who is to take care he does not interfere in any thing prejudicial to the company's inveſtments. Theſe reſtrictions are calculated to keep the revenues confined as much as poſſible to the company's ſentiments, which would fall extremely ſhort, as well as grow continually dearer, if the free-merchants had the privilege of duſtuck equally with the company's ſervants; the great number of purchaſers at the aurungs muſt of courſe make the price of labour riſe; purchaſers alſo who having no dependance on the company, would not willingly ſubmit to any regulations we might make, nor think it juſt that any preference ſhould be given to the company; the trade would ſuffer ſo much by the number of competitors, that we think the effect of ſuch a change would be very difficult, and that inſtead of being a relief to trade, it would be a great hurt to the merchants in general, and to the intereſt of the company in particular.

They excuſed themſelves for not endeavouring to obtain the nabob's acceptance of a certain yearly ſum to be paid by the company, in lieu of the duties now collected by the government from the merchants of Calcutta; ſo that all without diſtinction, might have the privilege of duſtucks; but they believed, if they had found it ſo conſiſtent with the company's intereſt to put the trade upon

upon that footing, the nabob's aſſent could not have been obtained; far from oppoſing the propoſal he ſeemed much alarmed, when the preſident at Murſhadabad made it; ſenſible of the great detriment it would be to the revenues of Hughley, which are made up chiefly of the cuſtoms upon goods going to and from Calcutta.

The ſum to be paid to the nabob in lieu thereof, in caſe ſuch an agreement had taken place, would have been ſo conſiderable, that the duſtuck duty to be levied here for the company's reimburſement, muſt have been a very heavy addition to your other cuſtoms; nor is it to be doubted, but thoſe merchants who complain now of the preference given to the company's ſervants, in reſpect of duſtucks, would have complained yet louder of this additional duty. At that time, the goods made at Coſſimbuzar yielded little or no profit here, while goods made at Decca and Luckypore did yield twenty-five or thirty per cent. Several of the gentlemen of the Decca factory, ſuffered much in their fortunes, by providing goods, from which they could not get their prime coſt; this riſk the company's ſervants run: it is the fair chance of an open market, which the free merchants for the moſt part prefer to contracts; and they have no more right to complain when the price in the market happens to be higher, than the ſeller; when it happens to be low, and they bring themſelves goods to ſell from foreign markets, they are not wanting in their endeavours to ſell them for as high a price as they can.

Such therefore have no juſt reaſon of complaint, as they have not endeavoured to contract with the

company's ſervants; but thoſe who formerly had concerns under the governor and council in the freight ſhips, had ſufficient grounds for complaints. It was a practice for each gentleman of the council, to load his own proportion in goods, and theſe goods every one charged at what price he thought proper: the captain and ſuper-cargo, depending on the governors and council to provide their goods, were obliged to take their concern in a cargo made up after that manner; and no wonder the voyages turned out extremely ill, an unreaſonable profit having been made on the goods before they left the port.

But the gentlemen jointly concerned, received a very different treatment; ſuch goods as are bought at market here, not having been contracted for before, are bought on the beſt terms poſſible, by managers appointed out of the concerned, and no profit of any ſort charged upon them here. Such goods are provided from the aurungs by ourſelves, or by contract with the gentlemen at the ſubordinates, are delivered at ſo moderate a premium as barely to anſwer the intereſt and riſk of providing them, with a ſmall conſideration for the time and charges ſaved by means of the duſtuck.

The abuſe of this indulgence, formerly too common a practice, was but a juſt reproach. The regard which the company's ſervants ſhould have for their own reputation, ſhould have been ſufficient to make them alter ſo diſhonourable a practice. Theſe men, ſtrangers to all ſentiments of juſtice, ſhould have been held unworthy the company's ſervice, and made a ſevere example of. The preſident's ſhould have been more obſervant of the applications

tions made to them for duſtucks, and all the boats found with Engliſh colours without a duſtuck, ſhould have been ſeized. This impoſition has been often practiſed by Portugueze, Armenians, and the country people to defraud the government of their cuſtoms, and through the violence or knavery of the Chowkeys ſucceeded frequently.

The company meant by their directions, that the nabob ſhould not be defrauded of his duties by an abuſe of the duſtuck, nor private traders oppreſſed: At all events, they inſiſted that the duſtucks ſhould be put upon ſuch a footing, as to ſecure the government their duties, and enable the merchants to pay the cuſtoms.

In the diſtant parts of the provinces, ſomething was neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed to prevent the gomaſtah's from being guilty of oppreſſions to the country people. By the firmaund and other ſubſequent treaties, the company has a right to trade in foreign and inland articles of trade. The government denying the company's ſervants to trade in a few articles, is uſurping an authority, they formerly were forbid to exert. By ſeveral regulations and orders concerning duſtucks, it plainly appeared the nabob's miniſters only meant, the company's ſervants ſhould not lower any black merchant's goods, or others that had not the privilege of a duſtuck; and by that means defraud the government of the duties they would otherwiſe have collected on the ſaid merchant's goods, which in caſe of being detected, might have been made a plea for ſtopping the company's buſineſs, and embroiling their affairs.

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The ſubjecting the company's gomaſtah's to the controul of the officers of the country government was attended with the worſt of conſequences, as it was giving up one of their firmaund's privileges, which muſt make them contemptible in the eyes of the natives, and be the means of depriving their gomaſtah's of the influence neceſſary for carrying on the leaſt buſineſs.

In conſequence of the government's collecting a duty on ſalt, to which for the moſt part they had acquieſced in. The nabob pleaded cuſtom and right, though the company's ſervants thought this demand, an infringement of their firmaund privileges.

In order to prevent the company's gomaſtah's from making a bad uſe of their authority, and injuring and diminiſhing the company's revenues, or interfering the leaſt in them, they were forbiden poſitively holding lands, villages, &c. of the government, that no other matters ſhould ariſe but relatively to trade; that the party injured was to apply for redreſs to the chief of the neareſt Engliſh factory, who inveſted with authority ſufficient to make the gomaſtah complained againſt appear and anſwer to the complaint, which if appearing true will have the deſired effect, and no injuſtice be committed by Engliſh gomaſtah's in the future.

Mr. Vanſittart's treaty with Coſſim Ally Kawn, having been diſapproved by ſeveral members of the board, Mr. Hay ſtated the following reaſons for joining with them in paſſing the cenſure on the preſident.

That

That by the treaty or written ſecurity, that the governor paſſed to the nabob, the principal rights and privileges of the Engliſh company, granted them by the king's firmaund from Dehly, confirmed and fully explained by the treaty with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier Kawn, and enjoyed ſince theſe treaties almoſt in full, are given up without one ſingle advantage gained by the company; but on the contrary, the total loſs of the Engliſh credit and reputation in theſe provinces; which has been greatly declining theſe two years paſt, was the viſible conſequence of this agreement, to every one who ſaw it and were the leaſt acquainted with the nature of the country people. The wiſeſt regulations and the moſt ſteady conduct of this board, will not be able to prevent the immediate bad effects of this ill concerted and unauthorized proceeding of Mr. Vanſittart, as too plainly appears from the letters received from the ſubordinates, and the general complaints of all our agents and gomaſtahs; which ſhew there is almoſt every where a ſtop, to the great encumbrance on our buſineſs, and that our ſervants are particularly ill uſed and oppreſſed.

In conſidering the arguments for and againſt the preſent treaty entered into with the nabob by the preſident, it is abſolutely neceſſary to the forming a true judgment on the affair, that the unjuſt methods uſed in the country courts of juſtice, as well as the methods practiſed by the country merchants, in conducting their affairs, ſhould be continually in your mind.

The impoſſibility of carrying on buſineſs, when ſubjected to the country courts, muſt appear plain

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to every one; when it is conſidered that for all ſums of money recovered on them you are obliged to pay beſides the expences of the cour[illegible] twenty five per cent. on the money recovered; which, if the Engliſh do not ſubmit to pay, it will always be the intereſt of the zemindars to decide againſt them; this is one of the numberleſs grievances we ſhould ſuffer, if ſubjected to their authority; the country merchants are ſenſible of the impoſſibility of carrying on buſineſs under ſuch diſadvantages, and are therefore obliged to buy the protection of ſome perſon of authority in the government, if their own influence is not ſufficient; which ſets them above the reach of the lower zemindars of the country; protects them from the violence of all, and at the ſame time gives them a kind of judicial authority, ſo far as to confine the weavers and peaons, when they cannot recover their balances from them otherwiſe. This was the principal reaſon for the company's being at ſo great an expence in procuring their firmaund, which exempt the company from theſe inconveniencies, and likewiſe of the great care that was taken to preſerve them in their full force by the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier.

The governor's argument in ſupport of this tranſaction, is on a ſuppoſition, that the greateſt enormities have been and are committed by the Engliſh gomaſtah, throughout the country, to the great detriment of the nabob's revenues and government; but this has not been the caſe, as plainly appears from the ſeveral complaints made againſt them, being no further ſupported than by the aſſertion of thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was to make complaints

of

of that kind, as ſome excuſe for their non-payment of what was demanded of them; when, if there was any foundation for theſe complaints, it was ſo much in their power, and ſo agreeable to the preſent government, and to the preſident, that they ſhould be proved, that they could never have wanted means to have done it; and likewiſe, by the numberleſs oppreſſions that our gomaſtahs and people have ſuffered throughout the country for many months paſt; for it is not to be conceived, that people treated in the manner they have been, could have it in their power to be guilty of thoſe extravagancies and enormities imputed to them by Mr. Vanſittart. In the firſt article of his written ſecurity with the nabob, he has given up the rights which the company have by their firmaund and ſubſequent treaties of granting duſtucks, except for ſhip merchandize; laid a tax of nine per cent. on all other traffick; and in a manner acknowledge, that the Engliſh do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion, or unfair dealing.

I think the board could never have juſtified themſelves for giving up the company's privileges in this manner; and of courſe, Mr. Vanſittart, unauthoriſed as he was, to enter into any treaty, could have no right to do it; but ſuppoſe it otherwiſe, how was it to be determined which were and and were not ſhip merchandize. Mr. Vanſittart indeed, in a ſubſequent article, left that to be determined by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was, that they ſhould not be deemed ſuch, in regard to the trade of one per cent. On the trade, from one part of the country to another, it is inſinuated, that this is leſs than what has been uſually paid, and Mr. Vanſit-

Vanſittart ſaid, that on all the trade of this kind, that he carried on in ſalt, he paid the country duties; though upon enquiry it appeared, that of the innumerable articles traded in this way, only ſalt and tobacco have paid any, the former of which by far the moſt conſiderable, did not pay above three per cent. although we ſubmitted to pay the eſtabliſhed country duties on the whole, inſtead of trading duty free, which I think we have an undoubted right to do, loaded with a duty more than double what is paid by the Dutch, Armenians, or any people in the country.

By the ſecond article, contrary to the privileges, the Engliſh enjoyed by grants and treaties, themſelves and gomaſtahs were ſubject to the juriſdiction of the meaneſt officer that the nabob employs, without the liberty of an appeal. By being debared the liberty of making ſalt, we are deprived of a privilege that every perſon, Europeans and others, in the country, have, but ourſelves the giving up the rights of coining in the different mints, is over-ſetting a privilege granted from Dehly.

The throwing the whole trade of Aſſam and Rangamally into the hands of one perſon was a monopoly moſt deſtructive to trade; and more particularly, if what Mr. Vanſittart advances be juſt, that the duty of cotton alone in that country, bring in a revenue of 40,000 rupees, which if you ſuppoſed at five per cent. muſt be raiſed on 800,000 rupees worth, which if they monopolized, muſt greatly raiſe the price of that article, and of courſe, the price of cloths. Upon the whole, the written ſecurity ſhould be demanded of the nabob, and deſtroyed, to prevent, in future times, when our affairs

affairs may not be in the flouriſhing ſituation they are at preſent in Bengal, in regard to force, a bad uſe being made of it, for it is probable, the government would, in caſe of having the upper hand in the country make uſe of it to invalidate the privileges the Engliſh enjoy by their firmaund.

A plan ſhould be laid down by the board to prevent any injuries being done by the Engliſh gomaſtahs, and for puniſhing thoſe that are guilty; which may be well done by a committee appointed for that purpoſe, who ſhould receive all complaints and appeals from ſubordinates or agents reſiding with authority of the board in theſe quarters, and examine them; and, as it appears that great part, if not the whole, of the troubles that have happened to the Engliſh and their gomaſtah's of late, are owing to the orders ſent over the country by the nabob, a ſenior ſervant has been appointed to reſide with the nabob, who ſhould be acquainted with all orders regarding the Engliſh.

Mr. Johnſtone thought the preſident's letter to the nabob, containing the new regulations he intended to eſtabliſh, was from its abject ſtyle, as well as conceſſions, highly diſhonourable to us, and ſuch as could not fail of ruining our trade and influence, and reduce us lower than the Engliſh were at any period in this country; that the preſident without authority, or any urgent neceſſity, reſigned to the nabob thoſe rights and privileges we are entitled to by the firmaund and ſubſequent treaties, and have hitherto enjoyed by virtue of them. Firſt, by diſtinguiſhing the company's trade from that of their ſervants, and agreeing to an exorbi-

tant duty of nine per cent. on all articles of the inland trade, without diſtinction or [illegible] of what had uſually been paid on any of thoſe articles at the different ſubordinates, eſtabliſhing the rate upon that paid by the gentlemen of Lukypore, though expreſsly mentioned by them to be more than what was paid at Decca, and known to be above the duty paid heretofore at Hughley; and though ſalt was the only article in his own inland trade that the preſident remembers to have ever paid any duty on or before this time. Secondly, in ſubjecting the Engliſh and their gomaſtah's, under the authority of the Moors as courts of juſticature, contrary to the privileges we have ever enjoyed of protecting thoſe employed under us, and ourſelves judges of their actions; the many ill conſequences of which, and the entire loſe of that credit and pre-eminence we have ever maintained, is evident to every body, of which we have had ample proof of, ſince the circulation of the regulations, as appears from the complaints of every quarter of the abuſe of the power ſo eaſily put into their hands, by the ſtoppage of our trade, and attacks openly made on thoſe entitled to our protection: thirdly, the prohibiting at once, without reaſon, or even conſulting the board, the company's ſervants at the factories at Luckypore, Iſlenabad, &c. from making ſalt works themſelves, which is a liberty not denied to any native of the country, and by which their fortunes have been and are endangered, as no time was allowed for collecting in the money they had laid out, and the balance due, could only be recovered by receiving the ſalt from the Milongies they had employed.

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The article ordering, without any limitation, that all purchaſes of lands may be made by any ſervants of our factories ſhould be reſigned, was unjuſt and diſhonourable to us, as if our ſervants, where they paid the due demands to government, were not entitled to our protection.

The article directing that the chiefs and ſervants of the factories, are not to hinder the weavers and brokers of the government, has been conſidered as giving a full power to the nabob's officers over them, and may turn to the ruin of the company's inveſtment, as appeared by the proceedings of Mahomet Alyat, the decca aurungs.

The foregoing the privilege we had of coining in the mints of Patna and Decca, while no proviſion was made for the currency of our ſiccas at thoſe places, without diſcount, was giving up what the company could demand of right; and ordering all purchaſes at Gualparah to be made entirely through the nabob's organ, was an infringement of our rights of a free trade in that quarter, and againſt the treaty with Jaffier Ally Cawn, by which we were freed from buying, even obliged to buy, by the intervention of Debolls. Therefore, the treaty ought to be recovered from the nabob, and deſtroyed, that ſo bad a precedent never be eſtabliſhed, and uſed againſt us.

By virtue of the firmaund and the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, the company and their ſervants have a right to, without any reſtriction or limitation, to trade in, and grant duſtucks for every article, whether for foreign or inland trade: our having been reſtricted by the power of the power of the ſubahs, before the

the revolution, from the full enjoyment of those rights, can never be urged as a good argument to invalidate them. When the company became powerful enough to aſſert them, they were eſtabliſhed as fully and clearly as could be expreſſed in the public treaties then concluded: and in ſunnuds and duſtucks, afterwards iſſued in conſequence, by Serajah Dowlah and Jaffier Ally Cawn, for the uninterrupted currency of our trade, thro' the indubitable authority of the duſtuck, wherever it was granted; and theſe ſunnuds were not merely for ſuch quarters where the company had factories and aurungs, but comprehended alſo all the diſtant frontier provinces, where they had not the leaſt trade of any kind; and Jaffier Ally Cawn declared, that he underſtood the treaty in this ſenſe; that wherever a company's duſtuck was granted, no duty could ever be demanded. If cuſtom, and what privileges we enjoyed under the Moor's government before the revolution, are to be eſtabliſhed, as what only we have a right to trade in now, by virtue of our grants, firmaund, &c. there is ſcarce an article of the gruff trade, whether for export and conſumption at Calcutta, and other places in the kingdom, but we muſt give up: for it is known we could not profeſſedly in our names, trade in theſe articles, though willing to pay the duties and arbitrary exactions required on ſuch occaſions; theſe various other articles of gruff, are no more particularized or expected in any treaty, firmaund, &c. than the two articles of ſalt and tobacco, and have been ever ſince the treaty with Serajah Dowlah carried on with the company's duſtuck.

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We have acquieſced in paying duty on the ſingle article of ſalt, and paſſing it with the Shaubundaras, at Calcutta, Decca and Luckypore, ſhould not now weigh with us to continue it, when our rights are called in queſtion, and we are bound to ſupport them in their full extent; above all, as this article of the produce of the company's own lands, and as it makes a conſiderable branch of their revenue, ought as much as poſſible to be protected and encouraged, inſtead of being oppreſſed with new taxes, exceeding above double what has yet paid: as for the article of tobacco, no duſtuck from the goverment has ever been taken, and the duty paid on it, has never been demanded till after its arrival at Decca; and at Coſſimbuzar, the company's duſtucks have been always granted, and never diſputed for this article. Therefore, the government have no right to demand that, or any other duties where the duſtuck is granted; and this conceſſion ſhould continue on ſalt and tobacco, as it has been, for beetle nut, rice, opium, ſugar, &c. articles conſumed in the country, as well as exported.

Thoſe European inhabitants, who by the company's directions, are not entitled to duſtucks, ſhould not be exempted from duties; yet when theſe are diſcharged for the eaſe of trade, a paſſport or certificate from the preſident, might accompany the ruane of the Budabundar.

The Engliſh gomaſtahs in any part of the three provinces, ſhould be ſubject in no manner to the juriſdiction of the country government; they are not, in my opinion, more than their principals, to be accountable to them, and never were; and no

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ſtep could have been taken more ſurely to ruin our trade, influence and reſpect in the country, than acknowledging them our abſolute maſters and judges. The company have ever been protected, their gomaſtahs, and thoſe of their ſervants; while we have ſubordinate factories, and a fixed government here, juſtice may always be had, when complaints are well grounded, and can be proved by the government's dependants; nor need we be ſtartled with theſe laid before us, but from the ſubject, and exaggeration of moſt of them; conceive what a ſtate of wretched dependance we ſhould fall into, were we liable to be called upon in every ſuch abſurd complaint, preferred to the country goverment. In theſe more diſtant quarters, where the company have not factories, the trade is generally managed by gentlemen who have had the approbation of the board to go up the country, and given ſecurity for their good behaviour; they may be preſumed now to be depended upon for determining equitably any diſputes about points of trade, which is all they ſhould, or need have any connection with at any zemindar's court; an appeal may, nevertheleſs, lie from them to the neareſt ſubordinate; and when ſuch ſuch perſons are publicly known in thoſe quarters, as under the protection, and acting with the permiſſion and authority of the board, to whom they are to be accountable, they may, without any new regulation or innovation, carry on their trade to the ſatisfaction of the people, and without any detriment to, or interfering with the collection of the revenues.

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Mr. Haſting's name appearing to the letter, proposing the regulations which formed the ſubſtance of the preſident's letter to the nabob, it could not be expected of him to join in the harſh and unmerited cenſure paſſed upon them, by the members which then formed the board; he at that time regarded theſe regulations, not as a conceſſion of any new rights to the nabob, but a confirmation of thoſe which he held by the treaties in force; nor has any thing appeared ſince to make him change that opinion.

His ſentiments upon the extent of the duſtuck and the privileges of the company's gomaſtahs, he fully explained, obſerving that the ſettling the duties on the inland trade at nine per cent. the governor only fixed the trade, which was before variably levied, with continual diſputes, to the great detriment of the fair trader; and in this he acted in ſtrict conformity to the plain and literal inſtructions of the board; whatever ſenſe they were intended to convey.

The preſident ſo fully explained the motives and reaſons for ſuch a tranſaction, that they need not to be repeated: upon the whole, the regulations in queſtion, were calculated in the beſt manner to put our trade upon a proper footing, to diſtinguiſh our rights from thoſe of the nabob, to preſerve the Engliſh name from reproach, and the affairs of the company from ſuffering by continual diſputes and contentions, in which they had no concern.

To underſtand the meaning of any treaty, where the expreſſions are doubtful and defective, recourſe ſhould be had to the circumſtances of the parties concerned, at the time in which they were made; regard-

regarding the firmaund in this light, we ſhall make no ſcruple to pronounce, that the company could not, where they obtained that grant from the court of Dehly, underſtand it to extend beyond their own trade, or include privileges of which they could not make any uſe ; and which they never dreamt of.

The commerce on imports and exports ever bounded, as of neceſſity it muſt, their concerns in this country, for the encouragement of a trade beneficial to the government and its revenues ; the court at that time in its flouriſhing ſtate, and ſupported by wiſe and able miniſters, indulged the company with the freedom which they petitioned for from duties ; that the trade in ſuch commodities as were produced and ſold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives ; they were either formed, or where they were conſiderable enough to make an article in the public revenues, or circulated through the province by the poorer ſort of people, to whom, whilſt they afforded a ſubſiſtence, they at the ſame time added to the income of the ſtate, by the duties gathered upon them ; let us ſuppoſe the company's agents had petitioned for the liberty of trading in theſe articles, without paying duties ; can it be conceived, that the government could have been ſo blind to its own intereſt, as to have given a privilege to ſtrangers, which would have enabled them to monopolize the whole trade of the country, to impoveriſh the natural ſubjects, and exhauſt the country of its wealth, without making any adequate return for it ? the privileges therefore claimed by the company, and allowed

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by the government, were originally designed by both, for such a trade only as was carried on by the former, that is, in goods brought into the country, or purchased in it for exportation; in effect, it was ever limited to that; nor cannot be proved, that the dustuck was ever allowed to pass for any other from the first engagement of this grant, until the death of Serajah Dowlah: the company in their standing orders before that time, prohibited their servants from meddling with what we now term inland trade, and name it illicit; nor can any difference of power convey to us a right from former treaties, which we confessedly wanted before, though since the restoration of the company's privileges we have by degrees dealt in the inland trade, yet it was alway with a tacit acknowledgment of the invalidity of our dustucks for that trade, having generally paid the government a duty thereon; and when it was attempted without, it has constantly been the subject of complaints and opposition of the nabob's officers.

It has been objected that we should not be too rigorous in calling in question our own privileges; but where the sense of a treaty is not sufficiently clear, interpret it in such a manner as may tend to our own advantage, leaving to others to dispute it; and that therefore as the firmaund gives us a general right to trade, duty-free, without mentioning any exceptions, we should insist on a free trade in every thing without limitation. If this principle is just at all, it can only be so where the points contested for are of real importance; but where they are either trivial in themselves, or have a pernicious tendency, it must be an absurdity to insist upon them. We must distinguish between the in-

tereſt of the company and that of individuals, which have been too much confounded; that the company will not ſuffer by a reſtriction of the duſtuck to foreign merchandize is manifeſt, ſince, with that reſtriction, it will anſwer every purpoſe for which they want it. Beſides the odium which a monopoly ſo injurious to the natural rights of the country-merchants, muſt unavoidably caſt upon the Engliſh name, and the perpetual jealouſies which from experience, we know it to be attended with prove that this privilege is in effect highly prejudicial to the real intereſt, as well as honour to the company. As they have been pleaſed to permit their ſervants to ſhare with them the benefit of the duſtuck, they may ſurely content themſelves with the enjoyment of that privilege, within the ſame bounds to which the company is limited. To attempt to extend it beyond that, and for the ſake of our own private advantage, to make this a point of conteſt with the power in alliance with the company, is both a violation of juſtice and a breach of the duty which we owe to our employers.

We can claim no right from the firmaun, nor of courſe the ſubſequent treaties, which were but intended as copies of that; in the articles regarding our commerce to an exemption from duties on any but foreign trade, that is, in goods imported or carried out of the country. Duties ought to be paid to the country government, on ſalt, beetle-nut and other articles, which are produced and ſold in the country; and of courſe the duſtuck ought not to be given for thoſe articles, but that they paſs with a certificate from the officers of the cuſtoms in the ſame manner with the goods belonging to other merchants. Whether we trade in ſalt with the com-

company's duſtuck, or as other merchants, without them, the duſtuck is a ſufficient diſtinction in the firſt caſe, and the latter requires none.

The Engliſh gomaſtahs, in every part of the three provinces, whether in the diſtricts of the nabob or the company, ſhould be ſubject to the magiſtrate; but with this diſtinction, to be obſerved between private gomaſtahs and thoſe of the company; that the former ſhould be equally accountable to the magiſtrate for any miſdemeanor, with any one of the nabob's ſubjects, that ſhould at any time reſide in the territories of the company, nor enjoy any advantages above any other merchants, but ſuch only as the firmaun gives them, viz. that their goods ſhall paſs duty-free, wherever they have the protection of the duſtuck; the magiſtrate ſhall not oppoſe but aſſiſt them, in the recovery of their juſt debts, nor ſuffer any one to injure and oppreſs them; but as the company's gomaſtahs have a weightier charge, and are none of them ſituated at ſuch a diſtance from the company's factories, but that complaints againſt them may be both eaſily heard and ſpeedily redreſſed, it ſhould be only permitted to the magiſtrate to oppoſe them in the actual commiſſion of any violence, or the aſſumption of any right not belonging to them, but in any diſputes with their immediate dependants, ſuch as the weavers, pykers, or debolls in their ſervice, he ſhall not interfere otherwiſe than by aſſiſting them in carrying their complaints to the preſidency, or the factories to which the gomaſtah's belong for redreſs; but the gomaſtah ſhall not therefore protect his own dependants for any lawful claims of the government,

vernment, nor their perſons from juſtice in any criminal caſes,

This ſeems to be the only equitable method for preventing any miſbehaviour in the company's ſervants, or diſputes between them and the country powers. If the magiſtrate at any time ſhould abuſe his authority, the nabob ſhould be required upon proof to diſmiſs him from his office, or inflict any other puniſhment ſuitable to the degree of the offence. If this juſtice, ſo eſſential to the nabob's own intereſt, and tranquility of the country be refuſed, or from the diſtance of his reſidence cannot be timely obtained, we have always the means in our power, when ſuch extraordinary occaſions may demand it to vindicate our right, and call the infringers of it to juſtice.

From the peculiarity of the times, and a natural propenſity in the weaker part of mankind, to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened, that the power ſuddenly placed in the hands of the nabob's officer's, for the protection of his people, has been ſo extravagantly abuſed, as to give occaſion to a perſuaſion in many, that no power can with ſafety be truſted in their hands. Thoſe of the company's ſervants who have lived amongſt the country people in an inferior ſtation, and at a time when they were ſubject to the moſt ſlaviſh dependence in the government, always met with the greateſt indulgence, and even reſpect from the zemindars and other officers; can with the greateſt confidence deny the juſtice of this opinion; and add further from repeated experience, that if the company's ſervants, inſtead of creating themſelves into lords and oppreſſors of the country, had con-

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ned themſelves to an honeſt and fair trade, and ſubmitted to the lawful authority of the government, they would have been every where courted and reſpected, and the Engliſh name inſtead of having become a reproach, would have been univerſally revered; the country would reap a benefit from our commerce, and the power of the Engliſh, inſtead of being made a bugbear to frighten the poor inhabitants into a ſubmiſſion to injury and oppreſſion, would have been regarded by them as the greateſt bleſſing and protection.

It is as impoſſible for any ſtate to ſubſiſt with a divided power, as with none. The company's ſervants are as likely at leaſt, to make an ill uſe of their power as the nabob's officers, but are not ſo eaſily to be reſtrained. In whoſe hands therefore can it be ſo properly lodged as in thoſe of the government to whom it properly belongs? to take from them that right, which the company's ſervants ſhould ever ſuffer to be conteſted in their own diſtricts, will introduce oppreſſion, rapine and anarchy, into the country which they are engaged to protect; and whatever temporary advantages individuals may gain from ſuch a ſcene of troubles, the affairs of the company muſt infallibly ſuffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country.

That this conſequence may not appear too forcibly drawn, it has been obſerved, that the wiſeſt and moſt permanent ſtates have ever left it to conquered nations, the exerciſe of their own laws and by that means inſured their ſubjection. The power which the company has acquired in theſe provinces has reduced them into a condition as nearly reſembling

bling a conqueſt, as it is for their own intereſt to with it; but as they take ſo ungenerous as well as impolitic advantage of their weakneſs, as to put it in the power of every banyan who calls himſelf an Engliſh ſervant, to tyrannize over the inhabitants without controul, this is not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to deny them even the benefit of any.

Mr. Cartier gives us his opinion, that the preſident's letter to the nabob was in every reſpect improper, and naturally intended, for the conceſſions contained therein, to bring upon the Engliſh name diſcredit and real diſgrace; the late violences and outrages committed by the natives, are a certain argument of its impropriety, and which were clearly foreſeen the very inſtant the ſaid letter was made public. The hope given them of being conſtituted judges and arbitrators of all diſputes that might happen in the intercourſe of our buſineſs, gave cauſe to the many inconveniencies and tyranny, that we have lately ſuffered: the ſubjecting us to ſuch a controul would have effectually deſtroyed our influence and reputation in the country, and would unavoidably have led us from the manifold oppreſſions we muſt have fell under by ſuch regulations taking place, to the neceſſity of taking up arms for the redreſs of theſe grievances; every member of this colony muſt have fell by ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction: as it is, the evil has ſpead wide, and has acquired ſuch ſtrength that no other methods, I doubt, but forcible ones would have been able to remove it. The members of the board did not intend giving a direct conſent to the preſidents entering into a treaty with the nabob on points ſo very

very intereſting, to the company's privileges, or did they imagine ſuch a ſtep was any ways neceſſary; the ſaid regulations previous to the aſſent or diſapprobation of the board, were made known to the nabob, and the ſame ordered by him to his different officers, to be carried into execution, before ſuch agreement could have the concurrence of the ſeveral members of the council. Such regulations were in no reſpect agreeable to the tenor and ſpirit of our firmaund, and the ſubſequent treaties entered with the nabobs Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier, but would have been the means of confining theſe privileges into much narrower bounds than the grants and treaties were intended to reſtain us in.

On the true extent and meaning of the firmaun and allſubſequent treaties, Mr. Cartier thinks, that by the privileges inveſted in us by our firmaund, that trade is under no limitation whatever, either in foreign or inland commodities. The want of power to aſſert formerly the immunities of the firmaund, cannot be conſtrued to an abſolute and entire deprivation of them; this reaſon now no longer exiſting, we ought to exert our privileges to their fulleſt extent and latitude, nor ſubmit to the capricious conduct and encroaching behaviour of the country government.

On the trade of ſalt and tobacco, no objection could be had to the payment of an equitable duty, more particularly as we have hitherto, both at the preſidency and the factories of Decca and Luckypore, ſubmitted to pay on one or both of theſe articles; but let that be fixed at a medium of what has been paid at the different ſettlements, and farther more

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to be conſidered as a conceſſion made the nabob, and not claimed as a right paid us at times which cuſtom has eſtabliſhed, and not to be confirmed by any treaty.

It is allowed, that the trade in ſalt and tobacco, is in every reſpect agreeable to our firmaund privileges; there is no reaſon why a duſtuck ſhould not be granted for thoſe articles as well as for all others; though at the ſame time, as a duty may probably be laid on theſe two articles, they ſhould be accompanied with the buxbandar's receipt to aſcertain that the full duties have been paid, and that nothing farther is to be demanded on any account.

As certificates have been granted indiſcriminately to the company's ſervants as well as to the inhabitants of Calcutta, the ſame ſhould be continued to the latter, on their application to the preſident, on producing the buxbandar's receipt for duties paid; though at the ſame time the duty ſtipulated and agreed upon to be levied on theſe branches of trade, the properties of company's ſervants, ſhould ſerve, as no regulations for what may be demanded from them.

The nature of government in every part of Indoſtan being in all reſpects oppreſſive and venal, and the deciſions of all cauſes depending more on the ability of the parties engaged in bribing their judges, than the legality of them, it can ſcarcely be thought even equitable that the ſervants and gomaſtah's employed by the company, ſhould on any complaint or miſdemeanour be ſubject to their determination.

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It is likewiſe a known truth, that in every diſpute concerning property and money matters, a fourth part is appropriated for the ſervice of the government and officers. This probably might not be inſiſted upon from the company's ſervants, though the other party being ſubjected to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, ſhews what a ſuperior influence would be acquired on that ſide: but even independent of this cuſtom, and ſhould it not be expected or demanded from either party, yet the integrity of the propoſed judges as ſo little allowed of, that it would be the higheſt abſurdity to expect it, or even to ſubmit in their having the leaſt power or authority over the company's ſervants: ſhould this even be permitted, it will not be preſumption to declare that we may then begin to date the commencement of our declining influence in the country, and would moſt certainly be productive of continual broils, ſhould we have ſpirit ſufficiently remaining to reſent the injuſtice and indignities we muſt in ſuch a ſituation be expoſed to.

Though it is improper to allow the officers of the government any kind of controul over the company's gomaſtah's, yet their actions ſhould not be uncontrouble. Let the perſon injured, if not employed by the company, lay the complaint before the magiſtrate of the diſtrict he is in, to be by him forwarded with the complaint to the preſident or chiefs, and council, of the different factories near the diſtrict where the complaint comes from; where the gomaſtah ſo complained againſt ſhall be ordered down to juſtify himſelf as to the accuſation lodged againſt him; ſhould complaints ariſe in

parts distant from either the presidency or the factories, a confidence might be reposed in the gentlemen employed as our agents in those parts, as they are men of character, and their appointments have been approved by the members of the board, and each depended upon to settle the complaints brought against their gomastah's. It is necessary, that the company should judge of all disputes in which their servants may be concerned; most true it is, it has not the most equitable appearance; but every gentleman must be convinced how highly essential such a privilege is for the supporting their influence and avoiding chicanery and perplexities of a Mooriſh court; a power so lodged in their hands is liable to less abuses, and may be exercised with the strictest impartiality, notwithstanding they are parties in the decision of the cause.

The first part of Mr. Vansittart's letter to the nabob, contained the agreement for the company's servants paying a duty of nine per cent. on all articles for inland trade. The firmaun and subsequent treaties were certainly the only goods that could enable them to form a proper judgment on this subject; and they gave them an undoubted right to trade, duty free, in all commodities whatever, either from foreign or inland trade, upon consideration of paying annually a sum stipulated in lieu thereof. It follows of course, that the president had entered into an agreement, which evidently deprived them of one of the greatest advantages they had gained thereby, on the bare supposition that it would be approved by the other members of the board; however, as the nabob's revenues

must

muſt have ſuffered, ſhould the company's ſervants carry on a commerce of every kind, without paying any duties, ſome reaſonable compenſation ſhould have been made him for the privilege of the inland trade; he ſhould at the ſame time have been made ſenſible that he was by no means entitled thereto, and that it was entirely a mark of favour.

It is well known, that the agents or gomaſtahs cannot confine themſelves within the limits of the authority with which they are inveſted. The many daring outrages and oppreſſions which have been committed by the nabob's officers, ever ſince his orders for enforcing theſe regulations, were firſt iſſued, ſufficiently point out the impropriety of them. The preſident's letter might hereafter be uſed by his ſucceſſors, as a plea different from the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. The company's duſtuck ſhould always be granted equally for the inland as well as the foreign trade, after it was ſettled, whether the company ſhould pay any, and what duty; this would have effectually cut off all ſubject of diſpute, by putting it out of the power of the officers to make any objection to the paſſage of the goods; and none but the company's ſervants ſhould have the preſident's paſſport for the ſalt, which may have paid the government duty at Hughley.

In regard to the diſputes that may happen between the company's agents and the people of the country, the only plan for the determination of them, would be to oblige the perſon who may think himſelf aggrieved, to apply for redreſs to the neareſt factory, and if he is not content with their

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deciſion, he may appeal to the governor and council.

Mr. Batſon thought the preſident's letter to the nabob detrimental to the intereſt of the company, and the nation in general; becauſe by a forced and groundleſs explanation, it invalidated the privileges granted by the king's firmaun, confirmed by ſubſequent treaties.

Such an explanation coming from the chief of the Engliſh, may give great advantage to the nabob's and to other European nations againſt us, in future negociations, which we may happen to have with them. By this letter, alſo the advantage of coining in the mints of Patna and Decca was given up, and the mint of Calcutta rendered of little or no ſervice; for by our being prohibited from uſing any authority over the chiefs, the currency of rupees coined at Calcutta, will be ſtopped in moſt parts of the country; and this was the caſe of Coſſimbuzar and Murſhadabad. Theſe advantages which were ſo ſtrenuouſly contended for many years together, were given up without any public conſideration: the ſaid letter alſo tended to deſtroy the national influence in the country, and to bring us into contempt; becauſe the form of addreſs and ſeveral expreſſions were unbecoming, ſubmiſſive and condeſcending; but chiefly becauſe it ſubmitted to the Engliſh agents, not excepting the company's factories to the juriſdiction of the nabob's officers, which would immediately put a ſtop to great part of the private trade, and would furniſh the nabob with continual pretences for ſubjecting the company to the ſame oppreſſions which they underwent before the rupture with Serajah Dowlah, whenever he

ſhould

ſhould think himſelf in a condition to proceed to ſuch lengths; therefore Mr. Batſon inſiſted with other members of the board on the nabob's ſending back the original letter.

By the firmaund and ſubſequent treaties, the company, and under them their ſervants, had a clear right to trade in every article whether for foreign or inland trade, which it is their duty to preſerve entire and undiſputed; and indeed the oppoſite arguments, prove no more than that the former nabobs had the power and means of hindering us from enjoying the king's grant in it's full extent.

The company ſhould have acquieſced in paying the ſame duty on ſalt and tobacco that had been paid ſince Meer Jaffier's coming to the ſubah, but the ſame ſhould not be agreed to by any public deed or writing. The ſalt trade being formerly farmed by Cujah Vazeed, for an inconſiderable ſum, could be no great advantage to the nabob's revenue; and by means of the monopoly he allowed the dealers at the firſt hand a very ſmall price, from 25 to 30 rupees per 100 maunds; but ſince the Engliſh have had a part of the trade, the price of ſalt has riſen to 70 or 80 rupees per hundred maunds at the aurungs; from whence it is clear, that from the Engliſh trading in this article, the nabob received benefit, and ſuffered no loſs; his complaints on this head therefore did not proceed from any real grievance: duſtucks ſhould have been allowed to the company's ſervants in future for ſuch articles, but no others.

The committee of ſecrecy to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt India company, and for that purpoſe,

purpoſe to inſpect the books and accounts of the ſaid company; having made the report of what they found material, with reſpect to the profits which the company derive from their commerce, and from the territorial acquiſitions lately obtained in the Eaſt Indies, proceeded, in purſuance of the order of the houſe, to enquire further into the ſituation of the company's affairs, and particularly how far the ſame may have been affected by the management of the company or their ſervants; and your committee thought, that among the many objects, that offered themſelves to their conſideration under this extenſive head of enquiry, the ſtate and management of the revenues, lately obtained in Bengal and Bahar, required their immediate attention, and your committee thought it right to begin, by enquiring into the nature of theſe revenues; and having for this purpoſe inſpected the books and correſpondence of the company, and having examined Harry Verelſt, Eſq; late preſident of Fort William in Bengal, who had been employed for ſeveral years in the collection of part of the ſaid revenues; your committee find that the revenues, of which the company, are at preſent poſſeſſed in the province of Bengal and Bahar, conſiſts of rents of lands, duties and cuſtoms, farms of excluſive privileges, fines and forfeitures, and with reſpect to the rents of lands, which conſtitute the principal parts of the ſaid revenues, they find, that all the lands of the ſaid provinces are conſidered as belonging to the crown or ſovereign of the country, who claims a right to collect rents or revenues from all the ſaid lands, except ſuch as are appropriated to charita-

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ble and religious purpoſes; which, having been granted by different princes, are underſtood by the general tenor of ſuch grants to be exempted from payment of any rents to the ſovereign.

There are, beſides, other lands, held by grants of different kinds, which pay only a fixed annual acknowledgment or rents, and that in general much below the medium rate of rents in the provinces: theſe are called jaghires, which are grants from the crown to individuals, or talooks, which are grants from the nabob or prince to individuals; and Mr. Vereſt informed your committee, that theſe jaghires and talooks vary in the nature of their tenure; the jaghires being ſometimes to the grantees for life only, and ſometimes for the life of other perſons in the ſame family; but the talooks do more regularly deſcend to the heirs of the firſt grantees, than the jaghires.

And your committee find, that the rajas and zemindars have certain lands, perquiſities and allowances, which they hold by virtue of their offices for their ſupport; and your committee find, that the rents ariſing from all the other lands of the ſaid provinces, beſides thoſe held by grants in the manner above-mentioned, are paid in ſuch proportion, as is ſettled annually by the dewan with ſeveral zemindars, farmers, or collectors, who rent or hold the ſaid lands; and your committee find, that the duties or cuſtom above-mentioned, are levied upon almoſt every article of life; and that they are collected either at chokies or cuſtom-houſes, or at the ganges or markets; and that the nabob and duan had the

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right of making ſuch alterations in theſe duties, are as they thought proper. And that the company, ſince they have been poſſeſſed of the ſaid revenues, have likewiſe exerciſed the right of making alterations therein.

And your committee find, that the farms of excluſive privileges, which make a part of the ſaid revenues, are farms of privileges of excluſive trade; and it appears to your committee that the ſame did exiſt before the company became poſſeſſed of theſe revenues; and your committee finds that the fines and forfeitures, which are ſtated as parts of the ſaid revenues, are fines and forfeitures for breaches of law, criminal, civil, or religious, of the ſaid country.

Your committee proceeded next to inquire in what manner theſe revenues are collected; and they find, that the duan collects the ſame, by leaſing them out, either to the rajah or zemindars, who are conſidered as having a ſort of hereditary right, or at leaſt a right of preference to the leaſe of the revenues of the province, to which they reſpectively belong; or other farmers under the names of Izodars and other appellations; or to officers appointed by government under the names of Fowzdars, Raumils and Fuſſildars, with all whom the government make in general annual engagement for the revenues of the ſeveral diſtricts.

And your committee having enquired, whether the company have ever diſmiſſed any of the rajors or zemindars of this provinces, they find, that the company have taken into their hands the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan and Nuddea, upon the rajor of the ſaid provinces falling in arrear of

rent

and the ſeveral rajahs, zemindars, farmers and others, under different names; theſe again make their agreements with thoſe of leſſer degree, either with the ancient occupiers or tenants, called, ryotts, or with new tenants. And Mr. Verelſt informed your committee, that by the ancient rule of government, agreements with the ryotts for lands, which they and their families have held, were conſidered as ſacred, and that they were not to be removed from their poſſeſſions, as long as they conformed to the terms of their original contracts; but that this rule had not always been duly obſerved.

And your committee having inquired whether the rajah, zemindar, farmer, or collector, have a right to lay any new duties, or augment the old ones, by their own authority: they find, that they have no ſuch right: it appeared, however, to your committee, by the evidence, of Peter Michell, Eſq; ſecretary to the ſaid company, and of Samuel Wilkes, Eſq; examiner of India correſpondence, that the books and correſpondence of the company afford many inſtances of the country having been exceedingly diſtreſſed by additional taxes levied by the zemindar, farmer, or collector; but not ſo much by the two former as by the latter, and Mr. Verelſt informed your committee, that he believed that the aforeſaid officers and collectors had levied new duties or augmented the old ones, by their own authority, in every part and corner of the country; and that they did this much more, before the company was in poſſeſſion of the dewannee, than ſince; and he added, that the government have a right to call upon them for every thing ſo collected: and that they have been called to an account,

rent; and that a support was allowed by the company to the said rajah.

And your committee find, that an annual rent-roll of the said provinces, called the Bundibus, is renewed and settled every year at a festival, called the poonah; which is usually held in the month of May, for Bengal, and in the month of September for Bahar: and your committee refer to the journals of the 28th of April, 1767, when a rent-roll, or bundibus, for the province of Bengal, for the year 1765, was laid before the house, to shew the nature and form of this instrument; and they have added in the appendix of this report, a rent-roll, or bundibus, for the province of Bahar, for the like purpose.

And your committe find, that in settling the said rent-roll, the government first endeavours to treat for the revenues of each province, or district, where there is a rajah or zemindar, with such rajah or zemindar; and if the rajah or zemindar does not come to an agreement with goverment, an officer is appointed to superintend the collections, which collections are made by such officer in the names of the rajah or zemindar, and his own; public orders being issued in their joint names; and in districts where there is no rajah or zemindar, they endeavour to treat with the present farmer; and if such farmer does not come to an agreement with government, the lands and revenues he holds, are, in such case, let to some other farmer for the best rent which can be procured, or taken into the hands of government.

And your committee find, that after the general rent-roll is thus settled between the government

count, ſince the company held the dewannee, in ſeveral inſtances.

And your committee find by the correſpondence of the company, that the preſident and council at Fort William, are endeavouring to aſcertain the amount of the muſſuſul collections, or the revenues levied by the rajah, zemindar, or farmer, in the ſeveral diſtricts of Bengal, in order to fix the profits of the ſaid rajah, zemindar, or farmer, at a ſtated and reaſonable ſum, to prevent in future undue charges in the collections, and to preſerve the ryott from oppreſſion by undue, additional, and arbitrary demands.

Your committee proceeded next to inquire into the produce of theſe revenues, and to enable the houſe to judge, whether the ſame have increaſed or diminiſhed, ſince they have been in the hands of the company: your committee were deſirous of knowing, what had been the produce of the ſaid revenues, while the provinces where they are collected were under the antient government of the mogul or nabob; and having examined Mr. Michell and Mr. Wilkes, your committee were informed by them, that there is not to be found in the books or correſpondence of the company, any general ſtatement of the ſaid revenues, while theſe provinces were under the government before-mentioned: but Mr. Vereiſt informed your committee, that having cauſed the records of the government of Bengal at Muxadavad to be examined, he found Suja Khan, who was ſeated on the miſnud or throne in the year 1738, uſed his beſt endeavours to increaſe the revenues, and that the net revenues ariſing from the whole of that province, except from

from the diſtricts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and the twenty-four Calcutta purgunnahs, were then as follows, viz.

	Sicca Rupees.			
Crown rent - - -	6,656,884	9	4	
A collection for the expence of his own houſe - -	2,391,356	2	6	0
Jaghire to the buxey of the empire - -	110,238	3	10	1
Jaghire to the duan - -	452,171	9	16	3
A collection for the payment of troops in garriſon - - -	241,109	0	4	3
A collection for defraying marine expences - -	1,013,792	14	11	2
A further collection for troops in garriſon - -	42,318	3	0	0
Sicca rupees	10,907,870	10	13	3
Current rupees at 2. 3. each	12,653,129	12	11	0
Or pounds ſterl.	1,429,477	2	6	0

During the reign of Suffirz Khan, the revenues of this country continued under the like regulations, and no alteration were made by him; but when Alliverdi Khan having killed his predeceſſor uſurped the government; he was compelled upon the Morattas invading Bengal, to the payment of a chout, one-fourth of the eſtimated original crown revenue: the amount of this chout was agreed to be ſicca rupees 1,104,262 6 7, for defraying of which, an additional collection was made in the

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the provinces; and this, with ſome further taxes for the expence, for building and other charges, raiſed the aforeſaid revenues in his time, to the amount of 13,282,960 2 17 1, or 1,733,426 pounds ſterling; and the revenues continued in this ſtate until the ſoubahdary of Coſſim Ally Khan, who was ſeated on the maſnud in the year 1760, when he laid an additional tax of one, and rupees, 450,164 2 9, which being added to the former revenues of 13,282,960 2 17 1, made the whole of theſe revenues in his time amount to 13,733,124 5 6 1, or, 1,792,172 pounds ſterl.

Mr. Vereliſt further informed your committee, that he had not materials ſufficient to aſcertain the progreſſive raiſe in the revenues in the province of Bahar, or in the diſtricts of Burdwan, Midnapore, or the Calcutta purgunnahs; but he preſumes they muſt have kept peace with thoſe of the other parts of the country; that the province of Chittagong was conquered about the year 1665, by a regulation Aurangebe, and that the defence of it was for ſome time a heavy expence to government; but the inhabitants afterwards greatly increaſing and the lands being improved by cultivation, the revenues ariſing from them aſſigned to ſeveral officers, commanding their troops, for the defence of their country on condition that they kept up a ſufficient force for that purpoſe; the lands under their management continuing afterwards to that purpoſe, ſo as they yield a ſum conſiderable above the real charge of the force neceſſary for the defence of the province, the government claimed a ſhare thereof, ſo that about the year 1713, a crawa rent was fixed on thoſe lands amounting to ſicca rupees 68,422, 10 7¾ in addi-

addition to the revenues raiſed for the defence of the province; which crown rents have ſince been called the original rent, and on which every ſubſequent encreaſe has been calculated. Between the years 1713 and 1727, the rents of this province was raiſed four annus or one fourth part; from 1727 to 1734, it was raiſed one fourth part more, and by ſeveral ſubſequent augmentations, every rupee of original crown rent was encreaſed in the year 1759 to 4 13 10½ rupees; and the ancient rent of rupees 68 422 10 7¼ was thereby raiſed to the ſum of 331, 529 1 15, beſides ſeveral other extraordinary taxes levied for the ſupport of government under various pretences.

Your committee having thus obtained the beſt information they were able of the ancient ſtate of theſe revenues, they proceeded next to enquire, what they had produced ſince the company became poſſeſſed of them; and for that purpoſe, having called for a ſtatement of the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, including the province of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and twenty-four Calcutta purgunnahs, from the time the company became poſſeſſed of them reſpectively; the following account was produced to your committee which the ſervants of the company informed them is as perfect as can be produced from any account tranſmitted to the court of directors.

The ſtate of the Bengal revenues, ſhewing the groſs receipts and the charges of collections, &c. charges in each year, from the time the company became poſſeſſed of each of theſe revenues, is as follows:

£. ſterling

	£. sterling
From May 1758, to April 1759,	57,258
From 1756 to 1760	Ditto
From 1760 to 1761	25,754
From 1761 to 1762	163,888
From 1762 to 1763	677,832
From 1763 to 1764	635,199
From 1764 to 1765	631,416
From 1765 to 1766	606,132
From 1766 to 1767	Ditto
From 1767 to 1768	2,550,094
From 1768 to 1769	2,451,255
From 1769 to 1770	2,401,191
From 1770 to 1771	2,118,294

The rise and fall of a revenue, as well as any deviation from the agreements, made a rise from two causes, the balances of proceeding years being brought into the current year, or remissions in the revenues on account of losses by draughts or excessive rains, as well as the misconduct of the farmers.

It appears by the nabob's sunnud granting to the company the twenty-four purgannah's that there was to be an annual payment to him for the king's rent of the sum of rupees 222,958; it is supposed the above sum, was on account of these rents preceeding the grant of them to lord Clive as a jaghire.

The committee proceeded next to enquire into the several payments, that have been made out of the said revenues by virtue of any treaties or agreements entered into by the president and council of Calcutta, or the select committee there, or by

by any order made by them, or by order of the court of directors in England.

And the committee found, that by articles of agreement between the king, Shah Allum, and the nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, Auguſt 19th, 1765, to which the company were made guarantees, a tribute of 26 lacks per annum, was agreed to be paid to the ſaid Shah Allum out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa. And by an agreement made with the aforeſaid Nudjum al Dowlah, September 30th, 1765, the annual ſtipend of 5,386 131-9, was agreed to be paid to the ſaid nabob as an adequate allowance for the ſupport of the nizamut.

And by the agreement made between Syelf al Dowlah and the governor and council of Fort William, 1766, the annual ſtipend of 4,186,131 9, was agreed to be paid to the ſaid nabob for the purpoſe above-mentioned. And by an agreement made March 21ſt, 1770, the annual ſum of 3,181,991 9, was agreed to be paid by the governor and council of Fort William, to the nabob Maberakul Dowlah.

And in 1771, it was ordered that the nabob's ſtipend ſhould be reduced to 16 lacks of rupees per annum, during his minority; and by the order of the ſelect committee at Calcutta, dated December 31ſt, 1766, and an allowance of 12 lacks of rupees per annum, was ſettled upon the ministers, Reza Kawn, Roy Doolub, and Shitabroy, to commence from the 31ſt of January, 1767, which allowance was afterwards divided in the following proportion.

To

To Mahomed Reza Kawn	-	9 lacks per annum.
Roy Doolub	- - -	2
Shiltabroy	- -	99,996 rupees.

Beſides the above-mentioned allowances, lord Clive and the ſelect committee allotted Shiltabroy a monthly allowance of 25,000 rupees.

Mahomed Reza Khwn's ſalary was afterwards reduced from nine to five lacks. In conſequence of the evils ſuffered by the late famine in Bengal, the governor and ſelect committee, on the 26th of May 1770, ordered 30 lacks of rupees at leaſt to be ſtopped out of the tribute to the king, and the allowances to the nabobs and miniſters.

In conſideration of the merit of the family of the Seats to the company, the governor and council of Fort William agreed, that a claim of the Seats to the amount of 21 lacks of rupees, lent to the late nabob Meer Jaffier, for the ſupport of his and the Engliſh army, ſhould be paid in equal proportions by the company and nabob, at certain ſtated periods, within the courſe of ten years. Several other payments were made out of the revenues of the dewannee, ſince the company became poſſeſſed of them, on account of reſtitution for private loſſes in the war with Coſſim Ally Kawn, and of donations to the army and navy for their ſervices on that occaſion. When the war broke out with Coſſim Ally Kawn, in the year 1763, and a reſolution is taken by the preſident and council of Fort William, to reſtore Meer Jaffier to the ſubahſhip, in conſequence of which, they entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to reimburſe to all

private perſons the amount of ſuch loſſes, as they might ſuſtain in their trade in the country; and as he ſhould not be able to diſcharge this in ready money, to give aſſignment of lands for the ſame, and upon the ſame occaſion the ſaid Meer Jaffier promiſed a donation of 25 lacks of rupees to the army.

Meer Jaffier gave to the commander of the fleet an engagement in writing for the payment of twelve lacks and a half of rupees to the navy; a large proportion of the reſtitution-money, and of the donation to the army was paid by Meer Jaffier, his ſucceſſor, while they were in poſſeſſion of the dewannee, but no part of the donation to the navy was paid by them. At a general court it was recommended to the court of directors, to cauſe ſo much of the donation to the navy, as could be recovered, to be paid out of the arrears of the revenues due to the nabob of Bengal; and for ſo much as the ſaid arrears ſhould fall ſhort of the amount of the ſaid donation, to be paid out of the company's dewannee, at ſuch reaſonable times as ſhall be moſt convenient to their affairs; and the court of directors gave orders conformable to the ſaid reſolution, to the preſident and council at Fort William, for the immediate payment out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, of what remained unpaid of the reſtitution-money, to the ſeveral perſons to whom it was due, according to their claims, as admitted and liquidated by the committee. The balance unpaid to the claimants of the reſtitution-fund was ordered to be paid in Bengal; as ſoon as the ſtate of the company's treaſury would permit. The preſident and council at Fort William had

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drawn bills on the court of directors for one moiety of the navy donation, which bills appear by an account delivered into the committee to the amount of 76,049l. and they had agreed to give intereſt-lands to the navy agents at Fort William for the other moiety, and to give them bills on the court of directors, in exchange for the ſaid bonds, when the treaſury at Fort William ſhould be open.

The preſident and council at Fort William paid on account of reſtitution for private loſſes on the 12th day of May 1766, current rupees 348,000, and to the army agent on account of the donations, current rupees 150,000, then 24,000 and laſtly current rupees 145,632; being the balance of that account, the total amount of claims for reſtitution allowed, was current rupees 5,568,000 and the balance remaining unpaid 1,533,818.

The court of directors ordered that out of the ſeveral deductions directed to be made from the allowance of the nabob, and the ſtipends to the miniſters, as was before ſtated, the ſums paid by the company to the army and navy on account of the donations debts due, and ſtipulated payments to individuals, ſhould firſt be wholly ſatisfied and reimburſed to the company; and ſuch farther ſums as ſhould ariſe from the ſaid reductions, ſhould be applied from time to time to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the reſtitution fund, and alſo the donation of two lacks to colonel Monro, promiſed to him by Meer Jaffier, in conſideration of his having relinquiſhed a jaghire in Bengal granted to him by the king, at ſuch proportions as the reſpective claims may bear to each other, until the whole ſhall be diſcharged.

And

And the committee having enquired whether any jaghires had been granted out of theſe revenues, ſince the company became poſſeſſed of them, they found that a jaghire had been granted to Dolabram amounting to 187,500 rupees per annum, part of two pergunnahs were alſo granted.

	Rupees
To Moneer zel Dowlah - -	value 56,649
To Mr. R. Cawn, one jaghire -	ditto 16,064
To ditto one other jaghire - -	ditto 19,788
And to ditto one other jaghire -	ditto 24,234

It appeared that the jaghire of Dolabram was granted by the king Shah Allum; and according to a letter of Mahomed Reza Cawn, to the noble preſident of Fort William, Mr. R. Cawn ſays, "My lord you are pleaſed out of your favours to confer upon me a jaghire." And ſince the company became poſſeſſed of the ſaid revenues certain ſums have been paid out of them to the preſidents and other ſervants of the company in India, under the name of commiſſion. An allowance was ordered to be made by the court of directors to their preſident, Mr. Vanſittart, and to the preſident for the time being, of a commiſſion of two and half per cent. to be deducted from the net annual revenue of their acquired territories, to be paid at the cloſe of every year. This allowance was afterwards confirmed by the court of directors as a ſettled and invariable emolument to every governor; and ſo long as Mr. Vanſittart was to continue in the government of Bengal, he was allowed a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. of all ſuch revenues

revenues as have or may riſe out of the grants from Coſſim ally Kawn, and the payment was to commence with the ceſſion of thoſe countries; adding that this additional emolument was expreſsly to be underſtood as a diſtinct reward due to the perſonal merit of the ſaid preſident, Mr. Vanſittart, and was abſolutely to ceaſe upon his quiting the government; it was not to be claimed or any ways pretended to by their future governors, whoſe fixed emoluments, very handſome and extenſive, were to be confined to the orders and regulations of the 13th of March, 1761, the ſum of 6000l. per annum was allowed lord Clive, as preſident and governor, to be paid him monthly, and to commence upon his arrival in Bengal; which allowance together with one per cent. out of the 2½ per cent. coinage duty, was to be in full conſideration for all his ſervices, both civil and military; and his lordſhip was conſequently to have no allowance whatever, by way of commiſſion or otherwiſe, out of the revenues from any of the territorial acquiſitions whatſoever. In conſideration of lord Clive's having relinquiſhed five ſhares to which he was entitled in the capital ſtock of the ſociety of trade, as well as every other commercial benefit and advantage, they did aſſign to his lordſhip, as an equivalent for the ſame; a commiſſion of 1 ½ per cent upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar; and as Mr. Vereſt was to have the charge of the government for ſeveral months after his lordſhip's departure, the ſelect committee further reſolved, that Mr. Vereſt ſhould in like manner draw the commiſſion of 1 ½ upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, until he ſhould have reſigned the government. The court

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of directors ordered that the allowance of 1 ⅛ per cent. commiſſion on the dewannee revenues, ſettled by the governor and council on the preſident, for relinquiſhing all ſhare in the ſalt trade, ſhould abſolutely determine and ceaſe upon the firſt of September 1767.

As the trade of their ſervants was to be confined to the articles of export and import only, in which they would be greatly affected by the great demands for extending the company's inveſtments; and conſidering the great increaſe of buſineſs in which their ſervants were neceſſarily engaged, and which demanded the utmoſt care and attention, they were come to a reſolution to give them a reaſonable encouragement to exert themſelves with zeal and alacrity in their ſeveral departments; but which they were to look upon as a free gift from the hands of their employers, offered to them annually ſo long as the preſent revenue ſhould remain with the company, and their behaviour ſhould continue to merit ſuch a reward; and they directed, that they ſhould draw out an annual account of the ſum received from the dewannee, deducting thereout the ſtipulated payment to the king, and the allowance to the nabobs and miniſters; and alſo of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and the Calcutta pergunnahs, from which were to be deducted Lord Clive's jaghire, and the ordinary charges of collection; and upon the amount of the ſaid net revenues, they were thereby indulged to draw a commiſſion of 2 ½ per cent. and that the ſum which ſhould be the produce of the ſaid 2 ½ per cent. was to be divided into one hundred parts, or ſhares,

ſhares. The large proportion allowed to the governor of 2 ½ per cent. was in conſideration of his relinquiſhing, and not being concerned in any trade whatever, even in articles of import and export; and likewiſe of relinquiſhing all preſents and gratifications, as expreſſed in the deed of renunciation, entered on by Lord Clive, approved and confirmed by the court of directors, who directed that all governors ſhould execute the like inſtrument on their entering into their office; as their inducement for annexing ſo great an appointment to the ſtation of preſident and governor, was in full expectation of his giving up his whole time and attention to the faithful diſcharge of his duty; and that being excluded from all trade himſelf, he might be vigilant in watching and detecting all abuſes committed by others. The ſhares of the commiſſion were in addition to his ſalary of 3000 l. per ann. and his mint duty, &c. The ſhares to the other ſervants were to be in addition to their ſalaries, diet money, and the poſts they might reſpectively hold.

The court of directors, by their inſtructions to the ſuperviſors, ſent out in 1769, gave orders for preventing all monopolies in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and laid open the ſaid trade to their ſervants, by declaring that it was their intention, that the ſaid trade be laid open to all perſons, as well natives as Europeans, and that Engliſh ſubjects ſhould be permitted to trade therein, only upon the ſame footing, and under the ſame duties and reſtrictions as natives or other ſubjects.

Theſe orders for opening the trade into execution, were afterwards repealed, by publiſhing the fol-

following notice: "That the honourable East-India company had been pleaſed to lay open the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, throughout the Bengal provinces, and that all perſons, whether Europeans or others, were hereby permitted to engage in it, ſubject to the regulations already enforced, and to ſuch others as might hereafter be made by the members of the adminiſtration."

Not long after opening the trade in the manner before-mentioned, a certain native, named Harparam, declaring that he had acted on account of the governor and council, ſeized by force ſeveral parcels of ſalt, which being finally prepared, had the ſeal of the perſon to whom they belonged, which ſeal he took off, and in its ſtead affixed his own. Complaints of a ſimilar nature had been made againſt Harparam for the ſame practices in forty-eight villages, which he did not deny; and the ſeals ſo fixed appeared in many inſtances to be inſcribed "Mr. Charles Floyer and company, Saheleung." This laſt word, is a word of authority, commanding reſpect.

The ſaid reſident informed the committe of the revenue, that having examined the orders which Harparam had received from his conſtituents, he found that he was directed only to make fair advances for ſalt, and to receive it as it was made, and put it into golahs. But without regard to equity and juſtice, he forced his advances on the Molangees, and on the ſtrength thereof, had actually ſeized the ſalt contracted for, and delivered to other merchants, eraſing the marks of the owners, and ſtamping that of his employers thereon. Such a lawleſs conduct merited a public

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and local puniſhment, as an example to others; becauſe, if reſpect to the gentlemen by whom he was employed, and whoſe orders he had exceeded, the reſident was induced to refrain from inflicting it, nevertheleſs he thought it his duty to ſend him to them, under a guard of ſeapoys, that upon examining the depoſitions of the ſalt-makers, they might take with him what meaſures they thought the nature of his offence required. It does not appear what farther proceedings were carried on in this buſineſs.

The committee appointed by the houſe of commons proceeded now to enquire into the abuſes and miſmanagement, by which the company's revenues had been diminiſhed. They found that the company claimed large ſums as owing to them by ſeveral perſons for duties on ſalt and beetle-nut; and it was impoſſible to ſhew the nature and amount of theſe claims, without laying before the houſe a ſtate of the ſeveral tranſactions on which they are founded.

They began by ſtating what were the duties on ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco, before the company became poſſeſſed of the dewannee; they found by a report of Mahomet Reza Kawn, entered on the ſelect committee's conſultations, the 25th of December, 1767, that under the government of the nabobs, the duties on ſalt made in Bengal, was 2 ½ per cent. paid by Muſſulmen, and 5 per cent. paid by Gentoos; they find alſo, there were certain duties paid on beetle-nut and tobacco, but they cannot aſcertain by the correſpondence of the company, what the rate of the ſaid duties was, except that in the company's own lands, beetle-nut

appears to have paid a chokee duty from 5 to 16 rupees per boat, according to the ſize; and alſo a khallory rent of three rupees per khallory.

But in the year 1762, the preſident and council eſtabliſhed a tax of 30 Sicca rupees per khallory, and aboliſhed all former duties. By the terms of the leaſes which were then granted, the farmers were obliged to take upon themſelves the balances due by the Molangees to the renters for the laſt year; this was afterwards made a ſtanding order; and a claim being at that time made by the ſalt merchants of ancient balances due from the Molangees, the ſaid claim was liquidated and fixed at 444,856 Arcot rupees; and the governor and council agreed to pay this balance to the merchants; but in order to re-imburſe to the company the ſums ſo paid, they laid a tax on the ſalt made at the ſaid khallories, of ten Sicca rupees per hundred maunds. No material alteration was made in the above duties untill the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety and trade in 1765.

The court of directors, by their letter of the 1ſt of June, 1764, to the preſident and council at Fort William, ordered them to conſult the nabob concerning the carrying on the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and other articles, produced and conſumed in the country, in ſuch manner as might be moſt to his ſatisfaction and advantage, and for the intereſt of the company and their ſervants; and to form an equitable plan for carrying on the ſaid trade; and to tranſmit the ſame to them, accompanied with ſuch explanations and remarks, as might enable them to give their ſentiments thereupon, in a full and explicit manner. The ſelect committee at Fort William, by their minute

minute of the 10th of Auguſt, 1765, reſolved, that the whole of the inland trade ſhould be carried on by an excluſive company, and that their excluſive right ſhould commence the 1ſt of September following, and to continue to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1766; and that all ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced in, and imported into Bengal, ſhould be purchaſed by the ſaid company; and that all other perſons ſhould be prohibited from dealing therein.

By a minute of the ſelect committee of the 18th of September, 1765, it was then reſolved, that the inland trade in the above articles ſhould be ſubject to a duty to the company, after the following rates:

On ſalt, 35 per cent. valuing the 100 maunds at the rate of 90 Arcot rupees; and in conſideration thereof, the preſent khallory duty to be aboliſhed.

On beetle-nut, 10 per cent. on the prime coſt.

On tobacco, 25 per cent. on ditto.

By this calculation the ſelect committee hoped that a clear revenue of at leaſt 100,000 l. per ann. would be produced to the company; which minute of the ſelect committee was confirmed by the noble preſident and council, the 25th of September following.

The ſelect committee, in their letter to the court of directors, of the 30th of September, 1765, gave it as their opinion, that the ſaid duties would produce a clear revenue of 120,000 l. ſterling per ann.

The committee appointed for managing this monopoly being two members of the ſelect committee, and two of the council, ſolicited the noble preſident and council to grant them a deed to

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ſecure to the proprietors of the ſaid excluſive right, the free and ſole purchaſe of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1766, allowing ſufficient time to diſpoſe of ſuch purchaſe for the ſeaſon; which deed was then ordered to be prepared by the preſident and council. But it does not appear in the books and correſpondence of the company, that the ſaid deeds were tranſmitted to the court of directors.

After the eſtabliſhment of the ſaid ſociety, the governor and council ordered ſeveral ſums to be paid out of the treaſury of the company to ſundry people for ſalt balances; and the khalſey's rents and ſalt duties in the company's own lands to the amount of 236,010 rupees, were appropriated by the ſociety of trade to their own uſe, during the years 1765 and 1766.

Notwithſtanding a letter of the court of directors, poſitively forbidding their ſervants to have any concern in the trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, whatever government might be eſtabliſhed, or whatever unforeſeen circumſtances might ariſe, it was determined by the right honourable the preſident and the ſelect committee, on the third of September 1766, to continue the excluſive ſociety for the next year. They augmented the duty to be paid to the company on ſalt, to 50 per cent. and on beetle-nut to 15 per cent. which minute of the ſelect committee was confirmed by the noble preſident and council.

The court of directors at laſt inſiſted on the abolition of this monopolizing and oppreſſive ſociety, and that the inland trade ſhould be totally relinquiſhed,

quiſhed ; but they were indulged, notwithſtanding the command of the maſters, by the governor and council, to enjoy their excluſive right one year longer, to diſpoſe of their concerns, and under divers pretences the ſociety was continued till September 1768.

The court of directors tranſmitted in 1767, regulations for carrying on the ſalt trade in future, and directed a duty upon it to be collected, ſo as to produce, upon the neareſt eſtimation, no leſs than 100,000l. ſterl. and no more than 120,000l. per annum, and if it was found neceſſary, all ſalt imported was to pay the ſame, or even a larger duty ; and all ſalt-makers were to deliver in every year, an account of the quantity made, and in what place the ſame was landed,

The governor and council propoſed ſeveral regulations for the ſalt trade, and that a duty be laid on that commodity of 30 ſicca rupees per 100 maunds, to be paid by the purchaſers, which according to their eſtimate would produce, the ſum required.

The reſident at the durbar, the collector-general and the chief at Patna, were inſtructed to put in execution, the regulations for the ſecuring the 30 per cent. duty on all ſuch ſalt. They were alſo informed, that theſe regulations were meant only for the ſalt made laſt ſeaſon, and not that belonging to the committee of trade, which was diſtinguiſhed by its having a duſtuck.

The following is the account received by the Eaſt-India company for duty on ſalt and beetle-nut, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, from the firſt of September 1765, to June 18th, 1771.

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The company received from the ſociety of trade the following ſums towards the firſt year's duties, and at the periods hereafter ſpecified.

1766	Sept. 14	Cur. R.	200,000
1767	October 8	-	250,000
1768	April 8	- -	350,000
1769	May 31	-	120,000
1769	September 13	-	31,000
1770	March 29	-	106,121
			1,057,121 l. ſt. 113,926

The company received from the ſociety of trade an account of the duties for the ſecond year the folowing ſums, and at the time ſpecified below.

1768	February 3	- R.	220,000
1769	May 31	- -	180,000
1770	May 31	- -	25,000
1771	June 18	- -	90,000
		Cur. R.	515,000 l. ſt. 57,937.

The company received on account of the new duties ordered to be collected in ſalt, and beetle-nut, at 30 rupees per 100 maunds for the year 1769 70.

Sicca Rupees 254,271 l. ſterl. 33,183

The company received on the ſame account for the year 1770 71.

Sicca Rupees 306,452 l. ſterl. 39,997
And Cur. Rupees 55,995 l. ſterl. 6,299

256,342

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The greateſt receipt is ſalt by the ſociety of trade in one year was, 2,936,420-6-10 maunds, which was in a favourable ſeaſon, and they eſtimated 28 lacks of maunds as the quantity for fixing the duty ordered by the company to be collected, 50 per cent. with ſalt provided in the provinces of Bengal, and Bahar, and 15 per cent. on beetle nut, would according to the ſtate of the ſalt trade at that time, produce to the company from 12 to 13 lacks of rupees per annum; from whence it follows, that the quantity of ſalt provided annually in Bengal and Bahar, was thus ſuppoſed to amount to about 28 lacks. The quantity of foreign ſalt imported into Bengal, do not prevent the whole of what is produced in the country from being conſumed.

Upon the whole of theſe tranſactions, the committee obſerved, that if the company had received the revenue they were entitled to, upon the loweſt calculations made, by their own ſervants, at the time the ſeveral duties were impoſed upon ſalt and beetle-nut, they would have received as follows:

For the firſt year of the ſociety of trade, from September 1765 to Auguſt 1766, according to the loweſt eſtimate of the ſelect committee

£. 100,000

For the ſecond year of the ſociety of trade from September 1766, to Auguſt 1767, according to the loweſt eſtimate of the preſident of Fort William, when he propoſed the continuance of the ſaid ſociety for another year 135,000 for the four ſubſequent years, according to the order of the court of directors, and the loweſt eſtimate of the committee appoint-

appointed by the governor and council of Fort William, in 1768, at 100,000l. per annum, £. 400,000

£. 635,000

When in fact the company received from the ſaid duties, during the before-mentioned period no more than the ſum of 256,342 l. and the payments of a principal part of this ſum appear to have been made at periods diſtant from the time when they became due; the company's treaſury was at the ſame time charged with the payment of ſeveral ſalt balances, and yet the ſociety of trade received, for the two firſt years, the duty which had been impoſed to reimburſe the company the payment of ſalt balances of the like nature.

The court of directors reſolved that the company ſolicitor, ſhould in behalf of the company, proſecute the perſons on whom they have demands on account of the duties on ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco.

And certain taxes under the name of Mhatoot have been raiſed in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, which have not been included in the general ſtatement of the company's revenues, nor brought to the company's account, except a ſmall part which has been applied in defraying the expences of repairing banks and bridges.

The Mhatoot exhibits on one ſide, the amounts of ſums collected ſince the Engliſh had acceded to the dewannee, by ceſſes under the name of Mhatoot, and on the other, the particulars of ſundry expences

expences of the ſircar, neither of which had appeared in the public records, the former having never been included in the general ſtatement of the revenues, tranſmitted annually to Calcutta, nor the latter inſerted in the treaſury account, but both left under the management of the miniſters. The reaſon why thoſe ceſſes were eſtabliſhed, and had been thus conducted appears in a letter of Mr. Sykes's to Mr. Becher, on that gentleman reſigning the office of reſident at the durbar. Mahomet Reza Kawn aſſured Mr. Sykes and the gentlemen who then compoſed the ſelect committee, that ſuch mode of collection was firſt adopted.

You will find, ſaid Mr. Sykes in his letter dated the 16th of January, there are collections made ſeperate from the ſtatement, viz. on account of the expences of the poonah; this mode of defraying theſe expences was eſtabliſhed by lord Clive and the ſelect committee, and why they were not included in the ſtatement, that the company might have a fair account of their groſs collections at one view, I cannot conceive. It muſt, I think, have ariſen from the fear the gentlemen of the ſelect committee had, that the company would not permit ſuch an expence to be kept up at the poonah, notwithſtanding it is deemed ſo neceſſary in the eyes of the country people, and always held with the utmoſt veneration.

In a letter from lord Clive, general Carnac, and Mr. Sykes, to Mr. Sumner and the gentlemen of the council, they expreſſed themſelves in the following words, on account of the expences beforementioned.

" We thought it by no means adviſeable to de-viate upon ſlight occaſions from the eſtabliſhed forms and cuſtoms of the anniverſary of the poonah, and therefore accepted for ourſelves and for you the uſual preſents of a dreſs and elephant to each, which ſhall be forwarded by the the firſt opportunity. This expence has been formerly charged to the government, it muſt therefore now be brought to the company's account, but as the amount is very inconſiderable, it is ſcarce worth while to introduce any innovation that may tend to leſſen our dignity in the eyes of the people.

If the cuſtom of giving dreſſes to thoſe who were employed in the collections, could not be aboliſhed entirely with propriety, that expence might have certainly been greatly reduced.

With regard to the charges of repairing bridges, banking the ſides of the river, who ever had gone up and down through Murſhadabad by water, muſt be ſenſible of the very great expence of ſupporting the banks of the river, which to people in general, would appear a moſt unreaſonable charge. Formerly theſe expences were defrayed by, and the conducting it entirely reſted in particular zemindars, whoſe lands were contiguous to theſe banks and bridges, and the zemindars were proportionably eaſed in their rents, but even then on extraordinary events, great aſſiſtance was given by the government. On this footing, nearly things remained during the firſt two years of the company's holding the dewannee, and the extra expence was charged in the treaſury account, in 1766. By the neglect and inability of the zemindars, the banks were found to have gone greatly to decay, and by

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ſome of them giving way, the country was overflowed, and the city of Murſhadabad in September 1767, in the greateſt danger; for which reaſons an aſſeſſment which had before reſted with particular zemindars, was extended to other diſtricts.

Mr. Becher obſerved, that his predeceſſor had received from the ceſſes of Mhatoot, an allowance of 2000 rupees per month, and that on his applying to Mahomed Reza Kawn for an explanation of that charge, he acquainted him, that Mr. Sykes's table was ſupplied from the diſtricts near the city of Murſhadabad, with ſeveral articles of proviſion; but that inconveniencies having attended that method, this cuſtom was aboliſhed, and Mr. Sykes received 2000 ſicca rupees, as an equivalent. This allowance has been continued to the reſident, and received by Mr. Becher, when he held that ſtation; Mr. Vereliſt gave his approbation to this arrangement. It was alſo agreed, that for the future the dreſſes ſhould be beſtowed on none but the acting officers of government, and the members of the adminiſtration; and that the value ſhould be reduced as low as the appearances would admit. That the preſents to the mohuzes ſhould be diſcontinued as far as could be effected, without creating in them a diſguſt to the ſervice: that bearers ſhould be allowed to thoſe who travel on public duties, and to no others; that the ſum of 350,000 rupees ſhould be fixed on to be raiſed; that a ſtatement of that ſum ſhould be formed ſeperate, and that a new and equal aſſeſſment thereof ſhould take place in each diſtrict, in proportion to its revenue, avoiding thoſe partialities which had been too viſible in the levying the Mhatoot.

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It appearing that the 2,000 rupees per month mentioned in the reſident's letter, was a part of the 3000 ſettled by lord Clive, but not recorded, the reſident was juſtly called to an account.

All arbitrary taxes whatever, muſt be ſo many inſtruments of oppreſſion in the power of collectors; was it not ſo, how was it poſſible that the Mhatoot, a ſum by no means conſiderable in itſelf, ſhould be found ſo heavy and intolerable a burthen on that extenſive country. Was it equitably divided amongſt all the diſtricts, it could not be called a grievance. The directors were therefore very ſolicitous to hear what progreſs the ſupervifors ſhould make on that object of their inquiries, ſince they more than ſuſpected the reſult would lay open a moſt iniquitous ſcene of oppreſſion and peculation; they were ſtruck with a never-ceaſing accumulation of expence, and upon referring to the charges incurred before the company's acceſſion to the dewannee, they found them ſo ſmall as 83,000 rupees; but ever ſince that period, each year had ſwelled the account, till it had exceeded all bounds. They were ſenſible the cuſtom of dreſſes made to the board, had been one cauſe, and the defraying occaſional charges from the treaſury, and not from the nabob's conſummary, had been another ſtill greater ſource of the increaſe. As to the firſt, the inſtitution came from lord Clive, when he attended the firſt poonah, after the grant of the dewanee; it was recommended by his lordſhip to the council, as a form that coſt little, and was nevertheleſs eſſential to the dignity of the adminiſtration. It had been continued from that pretended motive, but intereſt, had a place in matters ever ſo trivial.

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The grand abuſe which had been encreaſing yearly, was in the admiſſion of every rank to that honour, by which not only the charges had been augmented, but the intention of the cuſtom itſelf perverted; for from beſtowing any particular diſtinction on the members of the board, it had been the means of confounding all diſtinctions.

The new tax ſince the year 1767, having been impoſed upon an extraordinary calamity, which had not happened for years before; they ſaw no reaſon, after the banks had undergone one thorough repair, why ſo large a ſum ſhould ſtill have been levied. As for the ſalary of the reſident, it was ſettled by lord Clive and Mr. Sykes, without being recorded. It appeared that the whole of the ſum expended in the courſe of five years, under the ſeveral heads to which the taxes called mhatoot were applied, amounted to ſicca rupees 2,172,102 or l. ſterl. 283,458.

Were the ceſſes collected in a leſs oppreſſive manner, they would yield a ſurplus towards the large debt due to the merchants. The governor and council of Fort William having opened the packet addreſſed to the ſuperviſors, who were ſent out in 1769, they found therein, amongſt other inſtructions of the court of directors, an order, forbidding preſents to be made on any occaſion whatſoever, particularly at the time of the poonah, other than a few gold rupees, or ſuch ſmall taxes of friendſhip and reſpect as the ancient cuſtom of the empire ſhould have made neceſſary; and the governor and council then came to ſeveral reſolutions, which were ſignified to the committee of revenues at Murſhadabad, to the following effect.

That

That the honourable the preſident ſhould receive one khallant, not exceeding 5000 ſicca rupees.

That the chief of the council at Murſhadabad ſhould receive one khallant, not exceeding in value 2000 ſicca rupees. Each of the remaining eight members of the board at Calcutta, including the commander in chief of the forces ſhould receive a ſum not exceeding 1000 ſicca rupees.

The members of council of revenue at Murſhadabad, a ſum not exceeding 500 ſicca rupees.

That no other European ſhould receive any preſent at the annual ceremony of poonah, but the preſent made to the nabob on account of his dignity, was not to be diminiſhed.

That a khallant ſhould be allowed to Mahomed Reza Kawn of 4000 ſicca rupees, and the expence to the inferior officers of government, ſhould be retrenched as much as poſſible.

The governor and council ordered in a ſubſequent letter that the expence of khallants to the officers of government to be reduced to 60,000 rupees.

The committee obſerving, as well from the letter of Mr. Becher before-mentioned, dated the 28th of March 1770, as from the letter of the ſelect committee before-mentioned, of the 28th of April 1770, that there were the ſtrongeſt reaſons to ſuppoſe, that arbitrary ceſſes under the name of mhatoot, were levied by the collectors in ſeveral provinces, beſides what were accounted for to the government at Murſhadabad; and that the ſelect committee were, on that account, very ſolicitous to hear what progreſs had been made by the ſupervifors in this object of inquiry, ſince they more than ſuſpected

ppected the reſult would lay open a moſt iniquitous ſcene of oppreſſion and ſpeculation, as is before-mentioned; your committee thought it right to inquire what information had been tranſmitted to the court of directors, on the ſubject of mhatoot, and extraordinary collections made in the ſeveral diſtricts of Bengal and Bahar; and they find, by a letter of Mr. Middleton from Dura, dated 18th of May 1771, who was then upon a progreſs into the ſaid diſtrict, when the ſaid diſtrict had paid a large annual mhatoot, which, in the ſtatement tranſmitted by him, appears to have amounted to rupees 116,496,103; and he adds, that part of the money ſo collected, was remitted in the laſt year to Murſhadabad, towards defraying the charges of Bha Khullaut, and that the remainder was diſburſed and miſapplied by the officers of the government at Decca; but that he had then aboliſhed the mhatoot, and that the amount of it would be ſet forth as an article of increaſing in the new ſettlement; and in another letter of Mr. Middleton's, dated 13th of April 1771, he ſays, that a company of ſeapoys and forty burgudaſſes, retained there for the uſe of the collections, had till then been paid from a fund accumulated under the denomination of mhatoot; and that the expences of the duakes eſtabliſhed in that place, Murſhadabad, Chittagong and part of the way to Calcutta, had been defrayed in the like manner.

The committee finds, that Mr. G. G. Ducarell, ſupervifor of Purnea, in his letter to Richard Becher, Eſq; reſident at the durbar, dated 17th of Auguſt 1769, repreſents, "That the company have received a very conſiderable revenue from that

that country, but they have little known how it has been collected; you will be surprized to hear, that by the established mode of collections practised for these three or four years past; the soutta or agreement, is never preserved between the collector and the tenant, at the end of the year; wherever the farmer knows that the latter has made any gain, he surely seizes it, notwithstanding the agreement being justly paid; by these means all industry is checked, and all confidence destroyed; and neither labourer, farmer, collector, and so upward to the fouzedars, having any trust in each other, it has made the whole a chain of rogues and plunderers; nor can any confidence be restored but by a long course of equitable government." And the supervisor of Rungpore, in his letter to the said Richard Becher, Esq; dated 20th of August, 1770, represents, "That the bundibust of the province of Rungpore, was rupees 917,250, of which only 632,797 were remitted to the city: that 1,010,000, was collected in the mussulul; that charges had amounted to rupees 520,000: that the zemindars and farmers had been excused 149,000, on account of the drought; but that the poor ryotts, who were people that would receive every encouragement, especially in such hard times, had benefited nothing by the allowance, the whole having been collected from them; and also 92,000 rupees, which Mahmud Hussein put on, under the head of mhatoot, and which, he believes, was received by the zemindars and creatures of government employed in the collections." And Mr. Robert Wilmot, supervisor of Jessare, in a letter on Moorshadabad consultations of the 29th October

1770,

1770, repreſents, "That beſides the avowed wages to the aumils in our diſtricts, they had numberleſs perquiſites, the amount totally unaſcertainably, not conſiſting of a preſentage on the collections, but chiefly in ruſoons eſtabliſhed, as to the articles but not the ſums; not to mention what was gathered under the denomination of ſalamies;" and this ſuperviſor ſtates the mhatoot of his diſtricts at rupees 12,191,8 and ſalamies at rupees 1579.

And Mr. G. G. Ducarel, the ſuperviſor of Purnea, in a letter on Murſhadabad conſultations, of the 13th December 1770, repreſents, "That it has been annually the cuſtom there, even long antecedent to our coming to the dewannee, at the time when the ryots had nearly paid their rents, according to the putta or agreement, to lay on further aſſeſſments there, called bharre and gundar, (which are words peculiar to that province, and have the ſame meaning at Mhatoot in Bengal) either from real or pretended deficiencies: that arbitrary fines, under the name of Aboal Foudigarg, were an intolerable vexation to all orders of people, and one ſource of the appearance of poverty, which all men in the diſtricts are deſirous of putting on, and conſequently a great check to induſtry, by preventing thoſe who had money from employing it with freedom; that theſe fines were farmed as part of the jumna or rent-roll of each purgunnah, and thoſe of the town of Purra to the cutwall. The farmer who was benefited by the fine, was himſelf the judge of the delinquent, and of the degree of the penalty to be inflicted, which was levied, not according to the nature of the crime, but of the circumſtances of the accuſed. That theft and mur-

der were frequently compounded for four or five rupees, whilſt fornication and witchcraft were punished with 4 or 5000: that there was a particular ſort of people whoſe profeſſion was the diſcovery of witchcraft; thoſe accuſations in other countries are wholly confined to the old and impotent; here they fall generally on the rich and ſubſtantial: that there were alſo others, particularly women, who lived by the diſcovery of fornication and adultery; and the ſlighteſt evidence was ſufficient to warrant a fine to the extent of the circumſtances of the accuſed. That when he gave an abatement to the farmers, it was on condition of their giving up, amongſt others, this oppreſſive part of the juma: that there were then poſitive orders to take no fines, but ſuch as were approved at the Sunder *Adawlet*, but that an evil long eſtabliſhed is always difficult to eradicate. He now and then heard of ſome infractions of this order, by the moſſuſal zemindars, which he never failed to puniſh in an exemplary manner; and this he hoped would in time put a ſtop to ſo deſtructive a practice."

And Mr. George Vanſittart, the ſuperviſor of Dinagepore, in his letter entered on Murſhadabad conſultations of the 31ſt December 1770, repreſents, "That embezzlements there the year before, amounted to no leſs than ſunnut rupees 169,662; but that as great part of it had been diſſipated amongſt upwards of fifty thaſildars, and their underlings, it was of courſe irrecoverably loſt: that the amount collected was ſunnut rupees, 2,157,318.

The committee find, that the exaction of exorbitant intereſt for money lent to the zemindars and others,

others, has been another cauſe of diminution of the revenues of the company in Bengal.

The committee find, by a letter of M. R. Cawn, entered on ſelect conſultations, the 5th of October 1765, that the ſaid M R. Cawn complains of the loſs which the revenues ſuſtains by the dependents of the factories lending money to the zemindars and taloukdars, and by their protecting them on that account from the power of the aumils; he therein applies to the preſident to write to the gentlemen of the factories therein mentioned, that none of the dependants of the ſaid factories do lend money to the zemindars, &c. without the knowledge of the aumils.

The committee find, that the ſelect committee of Bengal, as appears by their minute of 25th of October of the ſame year, then iſſued poſitive orders to the chief of ſubordinates, and commanding officers of brigades, prohibiting them, and others acting under them in inferior ſtations, from lending money to the zemindars, or other ſervants of government, on the ſecurity of lands, by leaſe or mortgage; and the ſaid ſelect committee, by their minute of the 31ſt of October 1766, having received advice that this order had been tranſgreſſed to the great detriment of the collections; reſolved to enforce the ſaid order, and directed that no money ſhould in future be lent, except upon reſpondentia, on any pretence whatſoever, at higher intereſt than twelve per cent. per annum; and all the ſums of money outſtanding at an higher premium, ſhould be recalled on the 11th day of April following.

The

The committee find, that Mr. Reid in his letter to the chief and council of revenue at Murſhadabad, dated the 20th of December, 1770, repreſents, "That the exorbitant intereſt paid for money taken up for payment of revenues, fell very heavy on the zemindars, and often in the end on government, and was an evil called aloud for remedy; that the avowed intereſt of thirty-ſeven and one half per cent. at that place, was ſtill raiſed in the articles of batta and ruſum on bonds; but in ſome of the diſtricts it was carried to ſo enormous a height as to be ſcarce creditable; that no produce of the lands could bear ſo great a charge, and in the end zemindars muſt be ruined, and rendered unable to pay his revenue; that it had indeed been the practice to pay money, ſo taken up, out of the enſuing revenue, ſo that in effect the government pays the intereſt, and it would be more for its advantage even to delay the collections a month, then to receive them with ſo heavy, a future charge."

And Mr. Middleton, in his letter from Decca, dated 18th of May, 1771, repreſents, "That the country had greatly depopulated by the oppreſſive practices of the officers, to enable them to fulfil their engagements with merchants, of whom they borrow money, for payment of the revenue; which, he adds, is done at a moſt exorbitant and unheard of premium, and that every inconvenience reſulting from this pernicious cuſtom, ultimately entered with the ryotts, who unable to anſwer the unlimited demands which the officers of government were continually making upon them, were driven to the neceſſity of deſerting

ing the country, by which means a conſiderable quantity of land lays waſte and uncultivated."

The committee find, that the taking of leaſes of lands by the ſervants of the company, and ſometimes in caſes where they were themſelves intruſted with the management of the ſaid revenues, and with the letting of the ſaid leaſes, has been another cauſe of the diminution of the revenues of the company of Bengal.

It appears to your committee, by a minute of general conſultations of Fort William, the 31ſt of July, 1759, that when the governor and committee let the land of Calcutta Purgunnahs for three years, by public auction, ſome of the company's ſervants took and leaſed a part of the lands of the ſaid Purgunnahs.

The committee find, by a letter of the court of directors, of the 23d of March, 1759, that the ſaid court then prohibited their covenant ſervants from holding any lands, towns or villages, directly or indirectly, within or without the company's juriſdiction, adding, "That their reaſons for this reſtraint were ſo obvious, that an explanation was unneceſſary:" but it appears, that this letter did not arrive in Bengal, till after the leaſing the lands of the Calcutta Purgunnahs in manner before-mentioned.

The committee find, that the court of directors, by a letter of 13th of March, 1761, revoked the before-mentioned reſtriction, and informed the governor and council, that if they were perfectly ſatisfied that no inconveniences could ariſe from the company's ſervants farming any part of the

newly

newly acquired lands, they ſhould not object to it; but that the governor and council muſt aſſign their reaſons to the court of directors for their obſervation.

And it appears to the committee, that farms were afterwards held by the company's ſervants, both in Calcutta Purgunnahs, and in the diſtricts ceded by Coſſim Aly Khwan.

The committee find, in a letter of Mr. *Vereliſt*, ſuperviſor of Burdwan, on the 13th of September 1765, that the ſaid ſuperviſor repreſents, "That after the heavy loſſes and real detriment the firſt outcry had proved of, to the whole province of Burdwan, he was greatly ſurprized to find, on his arrival, that they had been again expoſed to public ſale, however, purchaſers had only been found for about twenty two lacks of rupees; ſo great was the prejudice taken at a former ſale, and the whole of that very conſiderably under the jumma-bundy of 1160, excepting the farms lately held by Meſſrs Johnſtone, Hay, and Blots, on which a great advance was bid; the reſt of the provinces, for which there were no biders, became coſs," or fell into the hands of government.

The committee find, in a letter of the court of directors, of the 17th of May 1766, that the ſaid court of directors, in anſwer to the before-mentioned paragraph of Mr. Vereliſt's expreſſed themſelves in the following manner: "We have on a former occaſion, in our letter of the 13th of March 1761, permitted our ſervants to bid at the public ſale of the Calcutta lands, but we could not conceive ſuch an indulgence could ever be conſtrued to admit ſervants employed in the

the collection of the revenues of a province to ſelect out the moſt profitable lands for themſelves; for ſuch is the light in which this tranſaction appears to us, and it is one more ſtriking proof of the general corruption with which all ranks were tainted and of the ill uſe that has been made of every indulgence: we direct a ſtrict ſcrutiny into this affair, and if it proves true, that you will make a proper example of the offenders, by diſmiſſing them our ſervice. This tranſaction convinces us of the neceſſity of ſhutting the door to abuſes, and we thereupon poſitively order, that no covenanted ſervant, or Engliſhman reſiding under our protection ſhould be ſuffered to hold any lands for his own account, directly or indirectly, in his own name, or that of others, or to be concerned in any farms or revenues whatſoever."

The committee find in the before mentioned letter of M. R. Khawn, entered on ſelect conſultations, 5th of October, 1765, that the ſaid M. R. Khawn, therein applied to the preſident to write to the gentlemen of certain factories therein-mentioned, that none of the dependants of the ſaid factories ſhould hold any farms, or interfere in the affairs of the country.

The committee find, by the before-mentioned minute of ſelect committee, of the 5th of October, 1765, that in conſequence of the before-mentioned repreſentation of M. R. Khawn, the ſelect committee prohibited the ſervants of the company from holding lands.

The committee don't find in the correſpondence of the company, any evidence to ſhew, that the ſervants of the company in Bengal, hold lands at preſent in their own names, but they have met with circumſtances which afford ground to ſuſpect that the company's ſervants ſometimes ſhare with their banyans in the profits of lands rented by them, and in one inſtance, which they will mention hereafter, they find that this practice is directly aſſerted by the banyan, who held the lands, and to ſhew to the houſe in what manner many of the abuſes before-mentioned ſtill exiſt in Bengal, to the diminution of the company's revenues, and oppreſſion of the country; a copy of the conſultations of the council of revenue at Murſhadabad, from the ſecond of September 1771, to the 23d of March 1772, reſpecting the conduct of one of his majeſty's Britiſh ſubjects employed in the company's ſervice in Bengal, was produced to your committee: it contains the complaint of the ſuperviſor of the diſtrict Rungpoore, againſt the ſaid ſubject for impriſoning zemindars and their naibs. It contains the proceedings of the ſaid council of revenue, under the direction of the governor and council of Fort William, to bring the ſaid ſubject to a trial before a court martial, for diſobedience of orders for which your committee find he was acquitted by the ſaid court-martial. It contains the ſeveral auzes or petitions of the zemindars, farmers and natives of Rungpoore, accuſing the ſaid ſubjects of extortion and oppreſſion, in various inſtances, the detriment of the revenue; it contains the inquiries made by the ſaid council of revenue, under the direction of the governor and

and council at Calcutta, into the complaints exhibited by the zemindars, farmers, and natives, againſt the ſaid ſubjects and the depoſitions of the natives who are examined on oath, and frequently in the preſence of the accuſed, in ſupport of theſe charges.

The ſeveral allegations contained in the ſaid auzes or petitions, or in the ſaid depoſitions, are, that the perſon ſo accuſed, having agreed to accept of five per cent. intereſt per menſem, for money lent by him to the parties before-mentioned, he afterwards raiſed the ſame to fourteen per cent. per menſem, and enforced the payment thereof by acts of cruelty and oppreſſion; that a mhatoot of ſeventy-five thouſand rupees was eſtabliſhed in the diſtrict of Rungpore, by the intervention of his banyan, called Conge Bahara Holdar, and part of it collected in his maſter's name, and received by him, of which mhatoot was openly paid into the public cutcherie, and entered in the officers books, that the perſon ſo accuſed ſhared in the profits of farms held by his banyan, that the perſon ſo accuſed appointed his ſervants and dependants to act in a judicial court of Fouzdary, that Chiton Sirdar, who was in the ſervice of the accuſed, made frequent excurſions into the province, attended by ſeapoys, in which excurſions they ſeized and bound the ryotts, and, by falſely accuſing them of theft, adultery, robbery and other crimes, extorted from them great ſums of money, and vaſt quantities of other valuable effects; that whole villages had been plundered by them, and that in particular the ſubſtantial ryotts were there cuſtomary prey, and that to

poſſeſs ten plowgh, was a crime, or reaſon ſufficient for being ſo plundered.—And laſtly, the proceeding above-mentioned contained an inquiry into the conduct of the before-mentioned ſupervisors of Rungpore, and other perſons therein mentioned, in conſequence of a charge brought againſt them for improper conduct in leaſing the lands of the Rungpore.

The committee think proper to obſerve, that the proceedings of the council of revenue, in the caſe above-mentioned, were not finiſhed when the laſt ſhips were diſpatched from Bengal: the party accuſed had not then made his defence, and theſe proceedings were not in the nature of a trial, the council of the revenue, at Murſhedabad, before whom they were had; having no power for that purpoſe, but of an inquiry to inveſtigate the facts ſo alledged.

The committee have not annexed to this report the proceedings of the council of revenue, in the caſe above-mentioned, nor any papers relative thereto, which are numerous and long, thinking that they may more properly be brought before the houſe ſeperately, if, upon the before-mentioned repreſentation of the caſe to which they relate, the houſe ſhall think it proper to order any further proceedings thereupon.

And, laſtly, The committee enquired, whether there was any evidence in the books or correſpondence of the company, to ſhew that any other of his Majeſty's Britiſh ſubjects had committed the like offences; and, Mr. Wilkes, informed the committee, that he had not found, in the books and correſpondence of the company, evidence

ſufficient

ſufficient to charge any other Britiſh ſubject with the like offences.

And the committee think proper here to obſerve, that in this, and their former reports, they have not ſtated any facts, but ſuch as they found in the books or correſpondence of the company, which they carefully examined for that purpoſe, or ſuch as appeared to them to be proved by other evidence laid before them; but, in caſes where it was neceſſary for them to be proved, that any particular fact or information was not to be found in the books or correſpondence of the company, they have been forced to rely on the evidence of the ſworn ſervants of the company; who, in their reſpective departments, muſt be preſumed to know all that is contained therein; for it was impoſſible for the committee to peruſe all the books and correſpondence to be found at the India Houſe that any ways relate to the concerns of of the company, during the many years to which their inquiry extends.

The company's revenues ariſing from the different provinces, and purgunnahs of Subah Bahar, from September 1766, to Auguſt 1767, amounted 6,186,276 ſicca rupees.

The court of directors in a general letter to the preſident and council at Fort William, expreſs thus their diſſatisfaction:

"When we advert to the encomiums you have paſſed on your own abilities and prudence, and on your attention to the company's intereſt, (in the expoſtulations you have thought proper to make on our appointment of commiſſioners to ſuperintend our general affairs in India) we cannot but obſerve with

with aſtoniſhment, that an event of ſo much importance, as the death of the nabob Seyf al Dowlah, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſucceſſor in ſo great a degree of non-age, ſhould not have been attended with theſe advantages for the company, ſuch circumſtances offered to our view.

We mean not here to diſapprove the preſerving the ſucceſſion in the family of Meer Jaffier; on the contrary, both juſtice and policy recommend a meaſure which at once correſponds with the cuſtoms and inclinations of the people of Bengal: but when we conſider the ſtate of minority of the new Subah, we know not in what grounds it could have been thought neceſſary to continue to him, the ſtipend allotted to his adult predeceſſors.

Convinced as we are, that an allowance of ſixteen lacks per annum. will be ſufficient for the ſupport of the nabob's ſtate and rank, while a minor; we muſt conſider every addition thereto as ſo much to be waſted on a herd of parraſites and ſycophants, who will continually ſurround him; or at leaſt be hoarded up, a conſequence ſtill more pernicious to the company. You are therefore, during the non-age of the nabob, to reduce his annual ſtipend to ſixteen lacks of rupees; and this we have the greater reaſon to require, as we find ourſelves ſubjected to the payment of large ſums, due from the revenues of the dewannee, before the company became poſſeſſed thereof, on account of the navy donation, and the arrears of that to the army; the balance due for reſtitution to Europeans; colonel Munro's demand of two lacks; the debt due to Bolokidaſs; and the annual ſum of one lack for ten years, which we have agreed to pay to Juggut Seat;

Seat; all which preſs on us with ſuch united force, that our treaſury will be unable to ſatisfy thoſe ſeveral demands without wounding our commercial intereſt, and endangering our poſſeſſions in Bengal. Being once relieved from this load of incumbrances, the ſavings we may expect from this reduction, will properly become a fund for military exigencies; which fund being ſolely applicable to the defence of the provinces, will contribute no leſs to the nabob's future benefit than to that of the company.

At a time when every juſtifiable meaſure ſhould be adopted for availing the public and the company of all the advantage we had in proſpect from our poſſeſſion of the dewannee; we cannot but reflect on the diſſipation of a conſiderable part thereof, by the allowances to the nabob's miniſters.

And here we muſt obſerve, that how great ſoever the application of Mahomed Reza Kawn, and his adherence to the company's intereſt may have been, his rewards have been more than adequate thereto: and as the buſineſs of the collections of our revenues, when they ſhall have been thoroughly inveſtigated by the ſuperviſors appointed for that purpoſe, will require little or no aſſiſtance from that miniſter, we muſt deem the continuance of his preſent ſalary, as a waſte of thoſe reſources which are become ſo eſſentially neceſſary both for the ſecurity of our poſſeſſions, and the extenſion of your inveſtments; it is therefore our pleaſure, that the annual allowance of nine lacks, which he has hitherto enjoyed, be no longer continued to him; but as the miniſtry of the nabob will make it requiſite for you to appoint us his guardian, a perſon of expe-

experience in the affairs of government, and of approved attachment to the company's intereſt, your choice muſt reſt on Mahomed Reza Kawn; and you are to allow him whilſt in that ſtation, a ſalary of five lacks of rupees per annum, which we conſider not only as ſuitable to ſuch ſtation, but as a munificent reward for the ſervices he may render the company in the execution of his office.

The annual allowance to Juggut Seat, as aſſiſtant to Mahomed Reza Kawn, has been a drain on our revenues, without the leaſt benefit from his adminiſtration; for we are well aſſured, that he has never afforded us a ſingle inſtance of ſervice; his allowance therefore muſt be immediately ſtruck off. But with regard to Roy Doolub, though we cannot expect from him any ſervices equal to his preſent appointment, yet in conſideration of the part he has long held in the affairs of government and his advanced age, we are diſpoſed to continue the ſalary he now enjoys, but on his death, this allowance is not to be given to any perſon whatever."

At a ſelect committee, preſent, lord Clive, preſident, Harry Verelſt, Eſq; brigadier general Carnac, Francis Sykes, Eſq; December 31, 1766. Mahomed Reza Kawn repreſenting to us the great expence which he neceſſarily incurs in ſupporting the dignity and influence of his ſtation; an expence which he has hitherto defrayed by receiving theſe perquiſites and emoluments uſually annexed to his office; and deſiring that we will now aſſign to him a ſtated ſalary and proviſion, which he thinks will prove more honourable to himſelf, and advantageous to the revenue.

And

And the committee taking into ſerious conſideration the great importance of Mahomed Reza Kawn's particular ſtation, which is that of naib dewan and prime miniſter; the extraordinary zeal and ability he has ſhewn in the diſcharge of his office; the expediency of maintaining him in the full influence due to his rank, and the benefit to the revenue that will accrue from cutting off all ſecret advantages and perquiſites, which ſo evidently open a door to manifold acts of fraud and oppreſſion.

Reſolved, That in lieu of all the perquiſites and emoluments hitherto received by Mahomed Reza Kawn and the other miniſters, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country, there ſhall in future be aſſigned for their maintenance and ſupport, an annual ſalary of twelve lacks of rupees; the ſame to be deducted from the monthly collections, and divided between Mahommed Reza Kawn, Roy Doollub and Setabray, in ſuch manner and in ſuch proportions, as ſhall be ſettled by the preſident, and the payment to commence on the laſt day of January next.

Stoppages were made afterwards out of ſtipends, on account of the famine; it appearing to the committee highly neceſſary and reaſonable that the tribute ſtipends and all extraordinary iſſues whatever, ſhould give place to the more urgent calls of government.

Reſolved, that Mr. Becher be directed to with-hold at leaſt thirty lacks from the tribute, and other allowances, ſo that the receipts and diſburſements may have ſome proportion to each other; that he be informed, with the aſſiſtance of

this reſerved ſum, he will continue to pay the brigades at Barampore, in garriſon at Monghеer, and all other charges of his department, and that the civil and military charges of the preſidency, are the utmoſt which can be defrayed from the treaſury of Calcutta.

In conſequence of this reſolve, the following letter was wrote to Mr. Becher, reſident at the Durbar.

" With concern, we obſerve, the great and alarming diſproportion of your receipts to your diſburſements; and at the ſame time we lament the calamities which have attended this country. We have no conſolation, or reſource, but in the hopes of better and more favourable ſeaſons; in the mean while, we muſt ſtruggle with our neceſſities, and endeavour by all poſſible retrenchments and ſtoppages to reduce our diſburſements within the narroweſt limits.

In conjunctures like this, neceſſity compels us to make the conveniencies of dependants, and even the letter of engagements ſubſervient to the exigencies of ſtate. The miniſter who enjoys ſuch great appointments, ought more particularly to give way to the times; and it would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any tribute, or ſtipend, before the ſupport of our own government. The exact ſum which ſhould be with-held from each article, we would not preciſely determine; but we expect that you will at leaſt, keep back thirty lacks, that ſum being no more than common prudence dictates we ſhould retain in our hands, to bring our funds and expences on ſome equality,

and

and the more eſpecially ſince the expences are certain, and the funds precarious.

In conſequence of theſe orders, which Mr. Becher communicated to Mahomed Reza Khawn, the ſtipends and allowances were kept at leaſt thirty lacks in arrears.

Lord Clive acquainted the committee, that the two Seats, ſons of thoſe who were cut off by Coſſim Ally Khawn, and fell a ſacrifice to the Engliſh company, had laid a claim amounting to between fifty and ſixty lacks of rupees, thirty lacks of which had been lent to the zemindars; they did not think the government anſwerable for, but that their claim of twenty-one lacks, which were lent to the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the ſupport of his and the Engliſh army, was in their opinion juſt and reaſonable: however, as it would be inconſiſtent with equity, now that the revenues of the country are appropriated to the company, to propoſe that the Nabob ſhould pay the whole, they have thought proper to agree, that the ſaid ſum be diſcharged by the company and the Nabob, in equal payments, within the ſpace of ten years, viz. one lack of rupees per annum each, for the firſt nine years, and one lack and a half each, for the tenth, or laſt year.

The board entirely concurred in ſentiments with Lord Clive, reſpecting the juſtneſs of the Seat's claim to twenty-one lacks of rupees, lent to the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the ſupport of his and the Engliſh army; and think, that the means they have propoſed for the payment of it in equal proportions, by the company and the Nabob, at certain ſtated periods, are very fair and

and equitable. With reſpect to the thirty lacks of rupees lent to the zemindars, we are of opinion, they can only be conſidered in the light of a private loan, and therefore the government, or company are by no means anſwerable for the ſame. An agreement was made, jointly with the Nabob, to diſcharge the debt due from the government to the Seat's; that family having ſuffered ſo much in the company's cauſe, are peculiarly entitled to our protection. The Nabob paid to Jugget Seat 1,050,000 current rupees, and the company paid the ſame ſum, which together made 2,100,000 rupees.

And the balance due was 1,038,624--4 rupees. The preſident and council of Calcutta received a letter from commodore Tinker, encloſing the tranſlation of a letter from the nabob, with a grant of 12 ½ lacks of rupees, which he had granted to the ſquadron, in conſideration of their ſervices, and requeſting their aſſiſtance for procuring the payment thereof agreeable to the terms.

Tranſlation of the letter from the Nabob to Mr. Tinker, dated 8th October 1764.

"Whereas you arrived here in occaſional time, and afforded me your aſſiſtance, I have, herewith ſent you incloſed a paper for 12,500,000 rupees, which will be paid you according to agreement. Whatever is right you will take for yourſelf, and the reſt you will divide in a proper manner among the ſquadron."

A true copy of the tranſlation.

Bladen Tinker.

The

The preſident and council acquainted the commodore, that they were glad the nabob had thought proper to conſider the ſervices of the ſquadron; and ſo far as it might appear to them in his power, conſiſtent with the performance of the engagements of his treaty, that Mr. Tinker may depend on their aſſiſtance for procuring the punctual payment of the grant he has paſſed farther repeating their acknowledgements to him for the readineſs he teſtified, in co-operating with them for the company's ſervice, ſince he came to Bengal; and requeſting he will communicate our thanks alſo, to all the officers and men of the ſquadron.

From an extract of the company's general letter, dated April 26, 1765, to Bengal, it ſeems it was currently reported that an agreement had been made between the late governor and council of Fort William, ſince the treaty concluded with him on the 10th of July 1763, by which it was ſtipulated, that the nabob ſhould pay, over and above the thirty lacks for the company mentioned in that treaty, 40 lacks by way of reſtitution, to make good the loſſes of private perſons; beſides 25 lacks to the army, and 12 lacks to the navy, not named in that treaty, making together the enormous ſum of 107 lacks of rupees, which is above one million three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

It is a very extraordinary circumſtance, that there was no mention made in any of the letters from the governor and council, of what ſum was to be given by the nabob to make good the private loſſes;

loſſes; although they mentioned they had regulated the payment of the reſtitution to the merchants, which implied they being in poſſeſſion of a fund for that purpoſe. If the reports as to the ſum ſtipulated to be given for this uſe; and alſo by way of donation to the army and navy were true, they purpoſely omitted to acquaint the directors of the particular amount, from an apprehenſion that they could never approve of an agreement with the nabob of this conſequence, and for ſuch exceſſive large ſums of money, without adviſing them thereof, and giving very good reaſons for a proceeding, which ſo nearly affected the honour and intereſt of the company. Indeed, conſidering the preſent ſtate of the country, involved for years paſt, in continual wars, and drained of its riches and the blood of it's inhabitants, it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe the company's ſervants capable of adding ſo greatly to its miſeries, by compelling, or even perſuading the nabob to pay ſuch exorbitant ſums of money, and at a time, when by all accounts he was himſelf in diſtreſs.

We do expect and require from you, ſaid the directors in the ſame letter, a particular account of every ſum received from the Nabob by way of donation, or under any other denomination, by any and each of our ſervants civil and military, whether by agreement in writing, or otherwiſe; in what manner it was obtained, and for what ſervices, and that you immediately tranſmit to us copies of all ſuch agreements, and the particular account of loſſes given in by each individual, together with what proportion has been already paid; and we poſitively forbid any farther payment till you receive our farther orders.

We

We do require from you, and we have a right ſo to do, a juſt and preciſe account of this whole extraordinary tranſaction; the honours and reputation of the company, and even of the nation are at ſtake; and when thoſe particulars, if true, come to be known, they require the fulleſt and moſt explicit explanation and juſtification. We can only expreſs our aſtoniſhment that ſuch things have been, as we cannot ſuggeſt to ourſelves upon what principles the preſent Nabob could be expected, perſuaded, or required, to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by individuals in carrying on, to their great imputation, and the prejudice of the company they ſerved, a moſt illicit and unwarrantable, although to them a moſt lucrative trade, in the articles of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; and we are as much at a loſs to comprehend, how the ſervices rendered to the new nabob, could deſerve ſo exorbitant a conſideration, to be given to thoſe who were only doing their duty in the ſervice of their king and country, and of this company."

And in a ſeperate letter, dated 24th December 1765, "We expreſs," ſaid they, "our aſtoniſhment at the report then current, that 40 lacks had been demanded for private reſtitution, and ordered you to detain whatever was paid on that account. We ſee but too much reaſon to confirm that order; for it appears to us, a moſt flagrant abuſe of our power, to the oppreſſion of the nabob and his country.

Although it was thought fit to confirm the treaty made with Jaffier Ally Kawn in 1757, becauſe the capture of the ſettlement had involved the inhabitants in one general ruin; and without ſuch reſtitution,

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it muſt have ſunk under the calamity, or it would have been the work of many years to reſtore it to a flouriſhing condition; no ſuch circumſtances exiſted in the preſent caſe, yourſelves aggreſſors in the war, and in a great meaſure brought on by an illicit trade. Our diſpleaſure at this proceeding is infinitely aggravated by the time and manner in which the demand was made. Your firſt demand was for 20 lacks, for which you were content to demand an aſſignment; you ſoon after encreaſed the demand to 40 lacks, to which the nabob was compelled to conſent, on condition it ſhould ſtop there: you then increaſed the demand to 53 lacks; to which exorbitant ſum it is raiſed, by ſinging in your outſtanding debts, forcing the nabob to make part payment, and preſſing him with the utmoſt ſeverity for further payment, at the very period when the company's affairs were in the moſt critical ſituation, before the battle of Buxar decided whether we ſhould not be extirpated the country; and at the ſame time, were diſtreſſed for money to carry on the war, and the inveſtment borrowing the very money paid by the nabob to our ſervants at an intereſt of eight per cent. You were in actual poſſeſſion of claims for reſtitution, to the amount of 47 ½ lacks of rupees. We cannot therefore but be aſtoniſhed, that you did not ſend us copies thereof; and by your not doing it, it ſeems as if it was induſtriouſly intended to keep us in the dark, both with reſpect to the names of the claimants, and the particulars of their reſpective demands. It ſeems the donation to the army was 25 lacks, and that of the navy 12 ½ lacks. When we conſi-

conſider the circumſtances of the nabob and the company at the period the demand was made for the army, we cannot but conſider this then an act of the moſt violent oppreſſion. The example of the 50 lacks given by Meer Jaffier on the revolution in his favour in 1757, will by no means juſtify this; we were then at open war with the nabob of the country; if we were victorious, the army might pretend to the plunder of the capital, which would have defeated the end; the treaſury was ſuppoſed to be very rich, and the nabob in condition to afford it. In the preſent caſe no ſuch circumſtance exiſted; you was but to reſtore the ſame men you had before depoſed, and you could expect only an empty treaſury; a country involved in war, and the company ſtruggling under every difficulty: we don't mean to take from the merit of the army, but no ſervice in the world was equal to ours by the great advantages that attended actual ſervice from the batta and other indulgencies allowed them.

There was no juſt pretenſion to any ſuch demand, and the experience you had of the fatal effects of the donation given on the former occaſion, which deſtroyed more than half the army by the exceſſes it led them to, and the remiſſneſs of diſcipline which enſued, ſhould have warned you of the danger of ſuch gratifications; but yet flagrant as the conduct of thoſe who demanded or countenanced this meaſure appears to us, every circumſtance is heightened in the demand of 12 ½ lacks for the navy, whoſe ſhips did no ſervice but that of laying by the walls, and of their men only a ſmall detachment did duty with the artillery.

There

'There is such a want of humanity in the distresses thus wantonly heaped on the Nabob, that your conduct will be for ever a stain on the nation, and is enough to raise enmities to us in every part of Indostan. Your copies sent home are unfaithful registers of all those transactions; we direct you to send us such a full and explicit account of every particular, that we may not be at a loss to form a true judgment of, and take the proper measures upon so injurious a proceeding."

Sir Samuel Cornish, and commodore Tinker, claimed from the nabob of Bengal twelve lack, and a half of rupees, or about 150,000l. sterling, in behalf of his majesty's royal navy officers and seamen, which his father, the late nabob Meer Jaffier, promised them by a written grant given under his hand, as a present for the assistance they gave him against Meer Cossim and Sujah Dowlah, in conjunction with the army, which has been since confirmed by his son and successor, to the subahship. Meer Jaffier dying before the payment of any part of the said grant became due, these gentlemen applied to a general court of proprietors for their assistance in recovering the money. As the present nabob had then a stipulated allowance out of the company's dewannee, and was consequently rendered incapable to discharge his father's engagements, they could not compel him to fulfil them. Whereupon Henry Vansittart, esq. having explained the circumstances of that transaction, during his presidency in Bengal, it was resolved unanimously, "That it be recommended to the court of directors, to cause so much of the donation to the navy as can be recovered, to be

paid

paid out of the arrears of the revenues due to the nabob of Bengal; and for ſo much as they ſhall fall ſhort of the amount of the ſaid donation, the ſame be paid out of the company's dewannees, at ſuch reaſonable times as ſhall be moſt convenient to their affairs."

Whereupon Sir Samuel Corniſh and captain Tinker, on behalf of the claimants, expreſſed their grateful ſentiments of the court's generous diſpoſition towards them.

Mr. Sykes was directed to enquire ſtrictly into the balances due to government, and to uſe every poſſible endeavour to recover them, as the company entertained the moſt flattering hopes, that from theſe arrears will ariſe a fund ſufficient to diſcharge all the public demands on the late nabob, for which their honour ſtood any way engaged.

The nabob, Meer Jaffier, having agreed to make reſtitution to the Engliſh merchants, and other perſons under the Engliſh protection, for their loſſes in the war with Coſſim Ally Kawn, as expreſſed in the following article, the tenth in the treaty, 1763, viz.

"I will reimburſe to all private perſons the amount of ſuch loſſes, proved before the governor and council, as they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country. If I ſhould not be able to diſcharge this in ready-money, I will give aſſignments of lands for the amount of which ſums three-fourths were paid by the nabobs, part by Meer Jaffier before his death, and part by his ſucceſſors, when the revenues from whence the other payments were to ariſe, fell into the poſſeſſion of the Eaſt-India company."

It was therefore reſolved, by a general court of proprietors, " That orders ſhould be forthwith ſent to the governor and council at Bengal, for the immediate payment out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, of what remains unpaid of the ſaid reſtitution money, to the ſeveral perſons to to whom it is due, according to their claims, as admitted and liquidated by the committee formerly appointed by the governor and council for that purpoſe. It appeared from the proceeding of the committee of reſtitution in Bengal, that the amount of the eſtabliſhed claims on that behalf was current rupees.

	5,457,034-10-10
That there had been received from the nabob thereof -	4,146,018 10 9
And that there had been paid to the ſeveral claimants the ſum of - - - -	4,141,215 8 7
So that remained in the hands of the agents only - - -	48,032 2 2

It alſo appeared that no further ſum was received from the nabob before his death towards the diſcharge of the remaining quarter part of the ſaid claims, amounting to current rupeees 1,311,016-1: nor ſince his dearh was any part received of the effects of which he died poſſeſſed. Under theſe circumſtances the court unanimouſly reſolved to offer it as their opinion to the general court,

" That the court of directors being adviſed by their counſel, upon a full ſtate of the caſe, that the claimants have no right, either in law or equity, to call upon the company for reſtitution of ſuch

loſſes

loſſes as ſhall appear to have been ſuſtained by the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco; and that it will be highly improper, and inconſiſtent with the intereſt of the company either to order the payment of the ſaid balance from the dewannee revenues, or to give any ſanction or authority to claim the ſame from the preſent nabob; and they therefore recommend it to the general court, that as ſuch claims are perſiſted in, the ſame may be decided by a decree of the high court of chancery; and then it will be determined, whether the trade carried on by the company's ſervants, in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, is, or is not, a breach of their covenants and illegal.

The general court came at laſt to the reſolution, that the balance unpaid to the claimants of the reſtitution fund be paid in *Bengal*, as far as the ſtate of the company's treaſury would admit. This court, at the requeſt of the claimants, was held previous to the departure of the ſuperviſors for India.

By this reſolution a diſcretionary power was veſted in the company to pay this money, when the ſtate of their treaſury would admit; no money was to be paid on this account till further orders.

The agents for the navy donation, on the expiration of the time ſtipulated for payment of the ſecond moiety, applied to the governor and council of Bengal, for the ſame. As their treaſury would not admit of ſo large a deduction, they were offered intereſt bonds for the amount. The agents conſented to the acceptance of the bonds, on condition of having bills granted, when the treaſury might be open.

Theſe

Theſe bills were drawn at 365 days ſight, and to bear an intereſt of three per cent. per annum, after the expiration of the firſt 90 days.

Mahomed Reza Kawn made a repreſentation to lord Clive, relative to his jaghire; his lordſhip had been informed that he had taken out of the province of Bahar for his jaghire; ſome rich and opulent diſtricts, the revenues of which amounted to four lacks of rupees a year.

"My lord," ſaid he, "you were pleaſed, out "of your favour to me, to confer upon me a jag-"hire, and I am perſuaded it is not your intention "that it ſhould be an impoveriſhed ruined diſtrict. "I diligently exert myſelf night and day in ma-"naging the affairs of the ſircar, and by the bleſ-"ſing of God and your auſpices, the ſtate of diſ-"order in which they were involved will be re-"moved."

A jaghire was a grant of ſuch a number of duam, valued at a ſtated ſum, and in particular purgunnahs therein mentioned, given by the king to ſuch perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his ſervice. Theſe ſo endowed formerly kept up a number of troops ready to march to his aſſiſtance; this cuſtom has been long neglected, and jaghires are now bought of the king's miniſters.

The court of directors, who, in conſequence of lord Clive's miſrepreſentations, cenſured Mr. Vanſittart as the promoter of a revolution prejudicial to the company's intereſt, had on account of this very event, allowed him two and one half per cent. on the neat revenues of the company.

As the great increaſe of our revenues, ſaid they in a letter dated May 13th, 1763, ariſing out

out of the provinces, granted us by Coſſim Ally Kawn, and the vaſt improvements of thoſe revenues are principally owing to the wiſe, prudent and diſintereſted conduct of preſident Vanſittart; we think it but reaſonable, that he who preferring our intereſt to all other conſiderations, ſhould participate in thoſe benefits he has been ſo inſtrumental in acquiring for us.

We therefore direct, that ſo long as Mr. Vanſittart ſhall continue in the government of Bengal, he be allowed the commiſſion mentioned before, and that the payments commences with the ceſſion of the countries, granted by Coſſim Ally Kawn.

This additional emolument is expreſsly to be underſtood as a diſtinct reward due to the perſonal merit of preſident Vanſittart, and is abſolutely to ceaſe upon his quitting the government. It is not to be claimed, or any ways pretended to, by our future governors, whoſe fixed emoluments, very handſome and extenſive, are confined to our former regulations.

After ſuch encomiums and extraordinary rewards beſtowed upon Mr. Vanſittart's meaſures, none can account for the directors inconſiſtency, when two years after they called Mr. Vanſittart to a ſtrict account for the pretended malverſations of his precedency.

Extract of the general letter to the preſident and council at Bengal, dated the 1ſt June, 1764, ſent per Lapwing and Kent.

" Having conſidered what allowance ſhould be made to Lord Clive, as preſedent and governor,

we

we have agreed to ſettle upon his Lordſhip, and he is accordingly to be allowed the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds a year, to be paid him monthly, to commence upon his arrival in Bengal; which together with the one per cent, commiſſion he is intitled to as preſident. out of the two and one and a half per cent. coinage duty, are to be in full conſideration for all his ſervices, both civil and military; conſequently his Lordſhip is to have no allowance whatever by way of commiſſion, or otherwiſe out of the revenues, from any of our territorial acquiſitions whatſoever; and our orders thereupon, as contained in our letters of the 13th of March, 1761, and the 13th May, 1763, are from this time forward, to be null and void.

We do not mean to hinder his Lordſhip from receiving the uſual commiſſion, ariſing from the coral, and other licenſed articles, conſigned to him by private merchants; this his Lordſhip is to have in the uſual manner.

For the reaſons given in our letter of the eighth of February laſt, we were not induced to ſend poſitive orders to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and in all other articles whatſoever, produced and conſumed in the country. To the remarks we made in that letter, we muſt add one obſervation, which is, that it appears very extraordinary, that in a trade ſo extremely lucrative to individuals, the intereſt of the company ſhould not have been at all attended to, or conſidered.

Thoſe orders were ſent, it is true, before we received the new treaty you entered into with Jaffier Ally Kawn, upon his re-eſtabliſhment in the

the ſubahſhip, in which it is agreed, that the Engliſh ſhall carry on their trade by means of their own duſtucks, free from all duties, taxes, and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, except in the article of ſalt, on which a duty of two and one and a half per cent. is to be levied on the rowana, or hughley market price; wherein it is further agreed, that the late perwanahs iſſued by Coſſim Ally Kawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties, for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reſerved and called in, and the duties collected as before.

Theſe are terms which appear to be ſo very injurious to the Nabob, and to the natives, that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart burnings and diſſatisfaction, and conſequently there can be little reaſon to expect the tranquility of the country can be permanent: the orders thereof in our ſaid letter of the 8th of February, are to remain in force, until a more equitable and ſatisfactory plan can be formed and adopted, which as it is impoſſible for us to frame here, deſtitute as we are of the information and lights neceſſary to guide us in ſuch an important affair.

You are, therefore, hereby ordered and directed, as ſoon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to conſult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade, in ſalt, bettle-nut, tobacco, and other articles produced and conſumed in the country, which may be moſt to his ſatisfaction and advantage, the intereſt of the company, and likewiſe of the company's ſervants.

You

You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the ſaid trade, and tranſmit the ſame to us, accompanied by ſuch explanations, obſervations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our ſentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and explicit manner.

In doing this, as before obſerved, you are to have a particular regard to the intereſt and entire ſatisfaction of the nabob, both with reſpect to his revenues, and the proper ſupport of his government; in ſhort, this plan muſt be ſettled with his free-will and conſent, and in ſuch a manner as not to afford any juſt grounds for complaint.

In the next place, the utmoſt care and attention muſt be beſtowed in forming the ſaid plan, that, in ſome proper mode or ſhape, as juſt and equitable conſideration be ſecured for the company.

If any inconveniences ſhall be apprehended to ariſe to the company's inveſtments upon carrying on ſuch an inland trade, you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

You are to give us your impartial and unbiaſſed thoughts, alſo, whether the carrying on ſuch an inland trade may affect the juſt rights and privileges of the French, Dutch, or any Europeans, and tend thereby to draw on any national altercations and embroils, which are by all means to be avoided. In forming the ſaid plan, therefore you are to be particularly careful to prevent theſe or any evils of the like kind.

And here let it be remarked, that no perſons whatſoever have a right to trade within the limits

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of the company's charter without their licence: if any new tracks of trade are fallen into, ſurely, therefore, the company's intereſt ought to have the preference, and be equitably conſidered, in order to induce them to permit their ſervants to participate in the advantages reſulting from ſuch trade.

In the 20th paragraph of this letter, we have mentioned, that the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds a year is to be allowed lord Clive, as preſident and governor; we do not mean that the ſum is to include his extraordinary expences, in caſe his lordſhip ſhall at any time be under the neceſſity of taking the field: We therefore direct, that all ſuch expences be borne by the company, and paid to his lordſhip, out of our caſh at Bengal accordingly, *in which all the frugality is recommended*, that is conſiſtent with the ſervice.

The ſaid ſix thouſand pounds a year is intended as an appointment to lord Clive only, and not to be allowed to any future preſident and governor. We therefore direct, that any perſon who ſhall immediately, and in future ſucceed to the government after his lordſhip, be allowed over and above the commiſſion on the coinage duty, three thouſand pounds a year, as ſettled in our letter of the 13th of March 1761, for ſalary, expences of his table, and all other charges and expences whatſoever, as preſident and governor.

The general court of proprietors having on account of the critical ſituation of the company's affairs in Bengal, requeſted lord Clive to take upon him the ſtation of preſident, and the command of the company's military forces there: his lordſhip has been appointed preſident and governor accordingly,

ingly, as mentioned in the proceeding part of this letter. The intention of the general court, in deſiring lord Clive to go to Bengal, was, that by his lordſhip's character and influence, peace and tranquility might be the eaſier reſtored and eſtabliſhed in that ſubahſhip. In order, therefore, to anſwer the purpoſes, in a manner that we apprehend may prove moſt effectual, we have thought proper to appoint a committee on this occaſion, conſiſting of his Lordſhip, Mr. William Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier General Carnac; alſo Meſſrs. Harry, Vereliſt, and Francis Sykes, to whom we do hereby give full powers to purſue whatever means they ſhall judge moſt proper to attain thoſe deſireable ends; but, however, in all caſes, where it can be done conveniently, the council at large is to be conſulted by the ſaid committee, though the power of determining is to be in that committee alone. We further direct, that as ſoon as peace and tranquility are reſtored and eſtabliſhed in the ſubahſhip of Bengal, then the ſaid extraordinary powers are immediately to ceaſe, and the ſaid committee be diſſolved.

As we would have the ſaid committee, as long as it is neceſſary to exiſt, as before-mentioned, to conſiſt of five members; in caſe thereof, a vacancy or vacancies, by death or abſence from Fort William, they are to be filled up by the ſaid committee, out of the civil members of the council, as they think proper from time to time.

We are alſo to inform you, and direct, that the ſaid committee is to be the committee for defending the ſettlements in caſe of being attacked by an enemy, agreeable to the directions and rules, laid down

down in our letter of the 12th of May, 1758; to which is to be added, Sir Robert Barker, the colonel and commandant of the corps of artillery.

The powers of the ſaid committee are by no means meant to invalidate or diſpence with, or in any ways prevent the carrying into execution the orders contained in the 53d paragraph of this letter, with reſpect to the deed of covenant of all our ſervants both civil and military, are to enter into, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid covenant."

Fort William, the 19th of September, 1766.

At a ſelect committee, preſent the Right Honourable Lord Clive preſident; Brigadier General Carnac; Harry Verelſt, Eſq.

The right honourable the preſident has urged the neceſſity of reſtricting the future governors of this preſidency, in points of trade and private intereſt, with arguments of ſo much force and conviction, in the following minute, that we unanimouſly agree in recommending his Lordſhip's propoſals to the board, that it may be carried into execution with all convenient diſpatch.

"Our attention as a ſelect committee, inveſted with extraordinary powers by the court of directors, has been conſtantly engaged in reforming the abuſes which had crept into the ſeveral departments of this government; the important work has been ſteadily proſecuted with zeal, diligence, and diſintereſtedneſs on our parts; and the ſucceſs of our labour gives us reaſon to hope that our employers will be of opinion, we have eſtabliſhed many uſeful and neceſſary regulations;

regulations; many others, however, are ſtill wanting to compleat our plan; but I doubt not that the ſame principles, which have hitherto guided our conduct will continue to direct and to juſtify the meaſures we have yet to purſue.

To place the preſident in ſuch a ſituation, as will render his government completely honourable to himſelf, and advantageous to the company, appears to be an object of as much conſequence, as any that has been taken into our conſideration; where ſuch immenſe revenues are concerned, where power and authority are ſo enlarged, and where the eye of juſtice, and of equity ſhould be ever watchful. A governor ought not to be embarraſſed with private buſineſs; he ought to be free from every occupation in which his judgment can poſſibly be biaſſed by his intereſt. The extenſive commercial affairs, the ſtudy of the finances, the politics of the country, the epiſtolary correſpondence, the proceedings of both council and committee, theſe are ſufficient to employ every moment of his time; and I am confident, that they cannot be conducted with the requiſite attention to the company's intereſt, if the mind of the governor be diverted, by complicated mercantile accounts of his own.

If we look back upon thoſe unhappy diſſenſions which have frequently brought the company's poſſeſſions in Bengal almoſt to the point of deſtruction; we ſhall find, that they have generally proceeded from the conduct of governors, who, ſo eager in purſuit of private intereſt, have involved themſelves in affairs which could not be reconciled to the ſtrict principles of integrity, to prevent

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ſcrutinies and diſcoveries, which might in any degree affect their honour, they have frequently been reduced to the neceſſity of conniving at abuſes, which would otherwiſe have been brought to light, and remedied. The welfare of this great company ſhould be the ſole ſtudy of a governor, attached to that point alone; his meaſures could never be thwarted by the malice of oppoſition, becauſe they would all be propoſed for the public good; and actions will always be juſtified or condemned, from the principals on which they are founded. Such a ſtate of independency and honour, muſt be highly eligible to a governor; and, in my opinion, it can only be acquired by cutting off all poſſibility of his benefiting by trade, or by that influence which his power neceſſarily gives him in thoſe opulent provinces.

I therefore propoſe, that the governor ſhall, in the moſt public manner, in the preſence of all the company's ſervants, the mayor, and aldermen, and free merchants aſſembled at the mayor's court, take the oath, and execute the penalty bond hereunto annexed.

The conſiderations I have propoſed, is one eighth per cent. upon the revenues, excepting thoſe ariſing from the company's own lands at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

Although by theſe means a governor will not be able to amaſs a fortune of a million, or half a million, in the ſpace of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handſome independency, and be in that very ſituation which a man of nice honour, and true zeal for the ſervice, would wiſh to poſſeſs.

Thus ſituated, he may defy all oppoſition in council, he will have nothing to aſk, nothing to propoſe, but what he means for the advantage of his employers: he may defy the law, becauſe there can be no foundation for a bill of diſcovery, and he may defy the obloquy of the world, becauſe there can be nothing cenſurable in his conduct; in ſhort, if ſtability can be inſured to ſuch a government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a ſmall ſpace of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capacities, it muſt be effected by a governor thus reſtricted, and I ſhall think it an honour if my propoſal be approved, to ſet the firſt example.

The oath to be taken in the moſt public manner by the preſident.

The penal bond to be entered into by the preſident.

Ordered, That the above oath and bond be entered after the proceedings.

(Signed) Clive, John Carnac, H. Verelſt.

Mayor's Court at Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal.

At a court held on Wedneſday the firſt day of October, in the ſixth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord George the third, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix.

Preſent,

OPTIQUE ASIATIQUE

Preſent.

James Leſter, Eſq; mayor, Mr. Robert Dobinſon, Mr. Thomas Woodward, Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, Mr. David Killican, Mr. Matthew Miller, Mr. Thomas French, Mr. George Lear, and Mr. Joſeph Jekyll, Aldermen.

This being the day appointed for the right honourable Robert lord Clive, who now is governor or preſident of Fort William, in Bengal aforeſaid, to take an oath, or make an affidavit in the ſaid court, and execute a deed or covenant, in a large penalty which are expected and intended to be ſworn to, and renewed or executed by all future governors, or preſidents of Fort William in Bengal aforeſaid.

The End of the Third Volume.

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on 28 December, 2018